THE Nation

May 17, 1952

Drawing by Berger

"Seeds of Tyranny"

"Political gangsters are attempting to pervert the [loyalty] program into an instrument of intimidation and blackmail. . . . They have not hesitated to lie . . . and to repeat the lies again and again. . . . These tactics contain the seeds of tyranny. . . . People who employ such tactics . . . are undermining the foundation stones of our Constitution. I believe such men betray our country. . . ."

—From President Harry S. Truman's speech to the National Civil Service League, Washington, May 2.

Fine, Mr. President, BUT . . .

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THE NATION

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AWARDED AT Jefferson City, Missouri, this 25th day of April in the Year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred and Fifty-Two.

Witness the Seal of the University and the Signatures hereunto subscribed:

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We are now in our eighty-seventh year. From our first issue, we have held to the principle that no man is free so long as another is enslaved by reason of his color, religion, or political creed. We can think of no better way of thanking the Lincoln University School of Journalism for the honor it has paid us than by renewing our pledge to remain steadfast to this principle.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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"THE SEEDS OF TYRANNY"

"I say, with all the emphasis at my command, that there is no more corrosive, no more subversive attack upon the great task of our government today than that which seeks to undermine confidence in government by irresponsible charges against the loyalty and integrity of government employees. . . . There is no room in government service for anyone who is not true to this public trust. . . . I will not tolerate the smearing and slandering of government employees as a group. We have every right to protest and to raise the roof against the deliberate creation for private political purposes of these unjust charges; of an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust against public employees. I'm just not going to stand for it and I'm starting now and I'm giving warning to the people who've been slandering the government employees that they're going to have trouble with me from now until November.

"We have a right to protest against the creation of an atmosphere in which a charge is a conviction in the public mind despite the lack of evidence. . . . The loyalty program was designed to protect innocent employees as well as the government. When I set it up, I intended it to expose the guilty and at the same time to safeguard the rights and reputations of those who were innocent. But I have become increasingly concerned in recent months by attempts to use the loyalty program as a club with which to beat government employees over the head. Political gangsters are attempting to pervert the program into an instrument of intimidation and blackmail, to coerce or destroy any who dare oppose them. These men and those who abet them have besmirched the reputations of decent, loyal public servants. They have not hesitated to lie, under cover of Congressional immunity, of course, and repeat the lies again and again. . . . These tactics contain the seeds of tyranny. Can we be sure that people who employ such tactics are really loyal to our form of government, with its Bill of Rights, its tradition of individual liberty? The fact is that they are breaking these things down. They are undermining the foundation stones of our Constitution. I believe such men betray our country and all it stands for. I believe they are as grave a menace as the Communists; in fact, I think they're worse than Communists and I think they're partners with them."

—From President Harry S. Truman's speech to the National Civil Service League, Washington, May 2.

A Fighting Speech—But Where's the Fight?

WHEN President Truman spoke out sharply and vigorously against the evils of McCarthyism in his Detroit speech of July 28th last year, we were quick to applaud his statement and to suggest how it might be implemented. In a Memo to the President, published on August 11, we pointed out that his loyalty program had not only failed to achieve one of the stated objectives—protection for government employees against unfounded accusations—but had contributed enormously to the effectiveness of McCarthy's smear tactics.

Now again the President speaks out sharply against those who would "betray the country" (see excerpts from his speech above). Truman is an effective orator when he is angry; he has a gift for the simple and direct utterance of the man in the street. He *sounds* sincere, and that, too, is a great gift. But there is something much more important about his National Civil Service League speech than its effectiveness as oratory. In it he admits, for the first time, that the loyalty program is being used as a club with which to "beat government employees over the head." This is what we foresaw in our Memo to the President last year. No single phase of the program has been more harmful in this respect than the portion of the Loyalty Order of March 21, 1947, in which the President instructed the Attorney General to list organizations as "subversive" on the basis of doctrine alone.

In all, somewhat more than 150 organizations have been so listed by the Attorney General, while the House Committee on Un-American Activities has named 694 organizations which it regards as subversive. The Attorney General's list was prepared, of course, without giving the listed organizations notice or an opportunity to be heard, a procedure which the Supreme Court in effect held to be improper in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee decided April 30, 1951. Of the organizations listed, an overwhelming majority are not alleged ever to have advocated the overthrow of the gov-

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ernment by force and violence; most of them were formed for specific purposes unrelated to communism; and many have not been in existence for ten or fifteen years. When the list was first prepared, it was forwarded by the Attorney General to the loyalty boards with the caution that "no conclusions whatsoever are to be drawn from membership in any such organizations." Despite this warning, membership has in practice come to be accepted as evidence of disloyalty. In addition, the roster forms the basis of the blacklisting activities now being conducted by the various private profit-making gestapos that have come into being since 1947.

It is not merely federal employees against whom the loyalty program is being used as a club: state, county, and municipal workers are also being blackmailed and intimidated; and many thousands of private citizens—teachers, librarians, social workers, doctors, lawyers, artists, lecturers, and persons connected with the stage, motion pictures, radio, and television—have been similarly threatened. As a matter of fact, federal employees who have been smeared have less reason to complain than the others since they at least are entitled to a hearing. But hearing or no hearing, there can be little doubt today that the loyalty program has undermined five rights long considered as inalienable: (1) the presumption of innocence until guilt is proved; (2) the doctrine that guilt is personal and cannot be computed in terms of relationship or association; (3) the right of the accused to be informed of the charges made against him in order that he may prepare his defense; (4) the right of the accused to confront and cross-examine his accusers; and (5) immunity against being tried a second time for a charge on which acquittal has been won.

We repeat, therefore, what we said in our open letter to the President last year, namely, that he should correct those phases of the loyalty program which have made it possible "to pervert the program into an instrument of intimidation and blackmail." Specifically, the President should direct the Attorney General to stop the practice of branding organizations "subversive" and set aside the existing list. In modifying the loyalty program in this and other respects, Mr. Truman can with justification point to the fact that he tried to obtain an impartial review of the entire process but that Congress checkmated the attempt. In January, 1951, the President appointed the Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights, headed by Admiral Chester Nimitz, to examine the whole question, but the commission was disbanded last October after Senator McCarran had successfully blocked legislation which would have enabled it to proceed with its work. Since Congress has made it impossible for the loyalty program to be impartially reviewed and itself failed to correct the program's abuses, the President has every reason to act. After all, the loyalty program is *his* instrument, not Congress's. Since it

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came into being by executive order, it can be modified or amended as the President wishes.

A defense of the civil service, as the Washington *Post* pointed out editorially on May 3, must necessarily take the form of "a political response to the political attacks made upon it." Since he is "not running for anything" this year, Mr. Truman is in an excellent position to make a political issue of McCarthyism. If he acts now, he can commit the Democratic Party to a defense of the principles so eloquently stated in his speech to the National Civil Service League.

But the President can make a political issue of McCarthyism only if he is first prepared to clarify his own position. Unfortunately his condemnation of "political gangsters" who seek to subvert the Bill of Rights is robbed of much of its moral force by reason of the fact that the loyalty program which he initiated has contributed directly to the state of affairs he now deplores. It is intolerable that Mr. Truman's advisers—including former Attorney General Tom Clark—should have put him in the position of having to condemn in his political opponents practices for which he, as President, provided official sanction. If "political gangsters" are in fact "undermining the foundation stones of our Constitution," then the federal government should not be a party to their subversive plottings. The President is entirely justified in saying that he is "just not going to stand for" their gangster tactics and we see no reason why he should. On the contrary, he should clear the decks for a genuine political offensive against McCarthyism, seizing and holding the initiative for the Democrats on this issue from now through the November elections. The way for him to start is to correct those aspects of the loyalty program which have led to its debasement and degradation.

The Shape of Things

Korean Deadlock

In an exclusive interview with *The Nation* last February Padilla Nervo, president of the United Nations General Assembly, listed as one of the positive results of the last session in Paris the decision that the Assembly might meet in special session in New York "if an unexpected development threatened an extension of the Korean conflict." Such a development may be close at hand. Not since the Panmunjom talks started have things looked so black. The Korean air is full of mutual recriminations, warlike threats (an admiral speaks of blockading China), and bursting bombs (last week the United Nations air forces unleashed the biggest raid of the war on the town of Susan). American press comment—some of it doubtless inspired, if not exactly inspirational—is already plotting still longer and bigger raids into Manchuria. The question of who is right at Panmunjom—on the war prisoners' problem, we think the United Nations is right—is dwarfed by the terrible *dénouement* toward which events seem to be moving.

It is in Nervo's power to call a special session of the General Assembly whenever the situation demands it. The responsibility for the ultimate decision in Korea should rest in the hands not merely of the world powers, but of the world, every last corner of which has a vital stake in the question of war and peace.

Easy Credit for Consumers

Suspension of restrictions on consumer installment credit is the latest of several Administration moves to relax controls instituted to check inflation. Some weeks ago restrictions on state and municipal financing were lifted and more recently the voluntary credit-restraint program, used to limit non-defense business borrowing, was put in cold storage. In addition controls on new construction have been eased, together with allocation regulations for a number of once scarce commodities which are now in good supply.

These moves follow a distinct lessening of inflationary pressure since the beginning of the year. For some months there has been a steady decline in wholesale prices—a decline that should soon be reflected in the cost-of-living index. In the case of a number of consumer-goods industries, including textiles, furniture, household appliances, and automobiles, an excess of supply over demand is leading to some softening of prices. This does not necessarily mean depression, or even recession, although it may feel like it to business men who last year were basking in the sun of a seller's market. Employment stays high and retail business is good except in comparison with the post-Korean period of panic buying. But thanks to record production, the lag in the defense program, and the successful operation of controls, the economy has become sufficiently stabilized to justify the relaxation of restraints.

The queer thing is that the very people who attacked the Defense Production Act from the beginning are now disposed to criticize the Administration for dropping controls. It can only be motivated, they suggest, by a desire to insure an atmosphere of prosperity for the election. Not for the first time President Truman is finding he is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't.

"Fascistic Hooey"

After a decade of easy pickings, the American labor movement is slowly awakening to the unhappy realization that the hard-won gains of the 1930's are now seriously endangered. Speaking in Cincinnati at a meeting celebrating the centenary of the International Typographical Union, Woodruff Randolph, its president,

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denounced the government's labor policy as "fascistic hooey." In his view, the government is restricting the areas in which unions may organize, forbidding workers the right to strike, and arbitrarily fixing wages and prices. "We have reached the point," he said, "where the government sanctions *maximum* prices instead of *competitive* prices," and, by indirect subsidies to large corporations, guarantees profits at the expense of the taxpayer. Turning to internal union affairs, Mr. Randolph warned that "there is an ever-present threat of labor power becoming too centralized, dinosaur-fashion, with the body growing too big for the brain. . . . We are right on the verge of Italian fascism under the guise of free enterprise."

It has been quite a while since an American labor leader of Mr. Randolph's prominence and influence has spoken in this vein. Even though he is obviously simplifying the picture, there is enough disturbing truth in his statement to underscore the significance of Hugo Ernst's Labor Views the Campaigns in last week's issue.

Unexpected Markets

There seems to be an assumption in Washington that Japan and Germany have been converted from enemies into docile allies. But now that the first has recovered its sovereignty and the second is about to follow suit, it will not be surprising to find them pursuing courses conflicting with American policies.

Thus we learn from the *Wall Street Journal* of April 26 that, whatever decision is reached about a German army, neither the industrialists nor the workers of the Ruhr are anxious to turn to arms production. They do not relish the idea of again becoming a high-priority bombing target. Moreover, they see in the defense preoccupations of their chief foreign competitors a wonderful opportunity to recapture foreign markets.

Japanese business men also seem more interested in building up foreign trade than in turning out guns and tanks. They have ambitious plans for modernizing their plants and the government has earmarked a fund of $100,000,000 to purchase American equipment for export industries. With efficient machinery operated by cheap labor, Japan expects to recover lost markets and gain new ones.

There is, however, one area of the world largely barred to Japan and Germany, not by foreign competitors, but by American policy-makers—the whole Soviet sphere. Eastern Europe is traditionally a major outlet for German manufactures as China is for Japanese products, and both countries are finding current restrictions on trade with these markets increasingly irksome. Recently the Bundestag adopted a resolution calling on the Bonn government to seek normal economic relations with the Soviets and to secure more freedom to conduct such trade from the occupation authorities. Similar pressure on the Japanese government will surely develop, particularly if China makes a firm offer of badly needed coal, iron ore, and soybeans in exchange for Japanese textiles and machinery.

McCarran's "Liberal" Bill

There is nothing good about the McCarran immigration bill which was to come up for debate in the Senate this week. Its provisions are bad, its sponsorship is bad, and the manner in which it is being rushed to a vote makes a shambles of democratic procedure.

McCarran argues that his bill "liberalizes" immigration. We wouldn't believe it even if the bill said so, which it doesn't. The man who not so long ago sought to turn a Displaced Persons bill into a racial sieve cannot now be trusted to write a "liberal" immigration measure.

It is true that the measure might tend to increase immigation in a few special categories. Its overall effect, however, is the reverse. And even those people who come in under the bill will first have to sell their souls to McCarran. For the heart of the Nevada Senator's proposal lies in its policing aspects: the unhappy alien becomes the victim of a special thought-and-speech-control apparatus in the worst McCarthy tradition. The immigration inspector becomes judge and jury of the alien's expressed thoughts. The alien himself becomes a second-class resident, denied normal constitutional rights.

Senator Lehman, in association with a group of liberal Senators, has seen these dangers, and is trying to avert them through introduction of another, and truly liberalizing, bill. It is the measure of McCarran's real attitude toward the problem that he has pulled every parliamentary trick to prevent the Lehman bill from getting a hearing.

Scarsdale's Victory

For more than three years the Board of Education of Scarsdale, New York, has been busy fighting off the attacks of a local committee which has raised the familiar cry of Communist infiltration. Hearing of Scarsdale's "battle of the books," professional anti-Communists moved in to direct the attack and tell the Board of Education how to run the schools. At last week's annual election 1,500 Scarsdale residents—a record attendance—gave the board a rising vote of confidence and appointed a committee to defend it against similar attacks in the future. The opposition failed to enter a slate of candidates but three of its leaders, nominated from the floor, received a total of eleven votes, whereas more than 1,300 ballots were cast for each of the three incumbents.

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Scarsdale is doubtless a special case, but the impressive vote by which its residents lifted the siege against the schools demonstrates that even the zeal of demagogues is no match for an aroused public. What happened to McCarthyism in Scarsdale can be made to happen elsewhere.

"Freedom's Stake"

Throughout the vast and acutely strategic area of North Africa and the Middle East the ferment of nationalism is breaking through the crust of old customs and colonial control. Both in the formerly independent Middle Eastern states and in the European dependencies along the Mediterranean coast of Africa the peoples are waking up, with consequences already becoming visible in the struggle for power between Russia and the West.

Sharply aware of the critical nature of this process, The Nation Associates has called a conference for May 25 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on Freedom's Stake in the Middle East and North Africa. Details of the sessions appear on the back cover of this issue. Out of the discussions will come, we hope, a positive program for dealing with the issues involved in terms which will contribute to security and peace—by recognizing the just political demands of the people and the need for fundamental social and economic change. We warmly invite all *Nation* readers within reach to attend the conference and the dinner forum.

Now the Foundations

BY A vote of 193 to 158, the House has adopted a resolution offered by Representative Eugene Cox creating a seven-member select committee to investigate educational and philanthropic foundations "and other comparable organizations" to determine if they are using their resources for "un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the United States."

In the debate, the resolution was attacked as an encroachment on the preserves of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Ways and Means Committee, which have been studying problems of tax exemption for some time. By insisting that his colleagues accept his word that no encroachment would result, Mr. Cox implied that the question of jurisdiction had been cleared with the standing committees. Indeed if one reads between the lines it is apparent that the new committee will have a special function. It will not be so much concerned with tax exemption or the financing of "subversive" or "un-American" projects as with the problem of "coordinating" the policies of the foundations.

The resolution has an interesting history. When it was first introduced, on August 1, 1951, Cox said that he was concerned only with those foundations which "operated in the fields of social reform and international relations." In a later speech, he hinted at the origin of the resolution by referring to "certain public-spirited people . . . themselves trustees of the various larger foundations" who had demanded that such an investigation be made. Also of interest is a reference in Merle Miller's book, "The Judges and the Judged," to the effect that *Counter-Attack* had been commissioned by an unnamed sponsor "to determine the extent of financial aid that foundations had given to Communist causes or Communist organizations."

Two types of pressure will be brought to bear upon the foundations. On the one hand, a showing will be made that research fellowships have been granted to persons whose names appear on the various "subversive" lists. A series of carefully spaced disclosures of this type will be used to "soften up" the foundation executives. At the same time, an effort will doubtless be made to show that the foundations have at one time or another harbored executives or employees who are or once were members of "subversive" organizations. At this point, a number of disgruntled former employees and unsuccessful applicants for grants can be relied upon to come forward to recite morbid tales of conspiracies and air twenty-year-old personal grievances. All the while, the threat of removing tax exemption can be used as a weapon to force various concessions and genuflexions from foundation executives. Even if they resist this pressure, the campaign can hardly fail to influence foundation policies. Some form of "screening" applicants for grants will probably be suggested, and the mere fact that a Congressional investigation is pending will prejudice certain types of projects and give top priority to others. An incidental effect, of course, will be to discourage contributions and endowments for educational foundations.

Of the various provisions of the Cox resolution none is more objectionable than the phrase which authorizes the committee to investigate "other comparable" organizations. Under this provision, as Representative Adam Powell pointed out, the committee could investigate such organizations as the B'nai B'rith, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the National Catholic Welfare Council, or the World Council of Churches. And why stop with tax-exempt institutions? Why not also probe the activities of private profit-making corporations? The new committee, it should be noted, will have no legislative jurisdiction; it can do nothing more than inquire, report, and recommend. The point has been made many times—and it was raised in the debate on the Cox resolution—that the number of such committees already in existence and the lengths to which they have gone in conducting investigations which can serve no legislative purpose have come to constitute a grave abuse.

One of the stated purposes of this latest foray into the

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field of thought control is to determine whether the social purposes being furthered by the foundations are in any way in conflict with the "interest or tradition" of this country. Unfortunately, conceptions of national interest and tradition vary considerably from Camilla, Georgia, where Mr. Cox resides, to the constituencies served, for example, by Representatives Javits, McCarthy, and Powell, all of whom spoke against the resolution. "It is frightening," as Representative McCarthy pointed out, "to consider the realities of a political authority setting the pattern and the limit of intellectual and moral development of its peoples. Yet this is precisely what the totalitarian state attempts, and indirectly could well be the effect of this resolution. In effect what it does is to subordinate another phase of American life to political authority. If we are to continue this course, it means that there will remain nothing that is normal or natural or private that cannot be taken from man and made political. . . . This resolution . . . indicates a lack of confidence in the free institutions of this country, and fundamentally and finally a lack of confidence in the people of the United States."

Fortunately Representative Cox has promised to step aside, once the committee has been organized, and has suggested the name of Representative Brooks Hays as chairman in his stead. But a substitution of chairmen—even one as desirable as this—will not guard against the dangers implicit in this latest investigation. Even the members of the Eighty-second Congress seemed to realize that the Cox resolution was carrying the investigation mania a bit too far: it provoked the strongest opposition yet voiced in Congress against a witch-hunting measure.

Speaking Out on Foreign Policy

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

ONCE again the West finds itself in a difficult period. Interrelated problems such as Korea and Germany, means of implementing the decisions reached at the NATO conference in Lisbon in the face of the obstacles created by the extreme nationalism of certain Atlantic powers, Congressional opposition to granting the sums asked by President Truman for Western defense and the corresponding slowdown in Europe's rearmament, now months behind schedule—all together, these items have created a situation close to crisis. Some Western observers are asking themselves whether the entire strategy of the Atlantic coalition, in the main an American concept, does not need prompt and energetic revision.

Inside and outside the United Nations pessimism is again mounting in view of the turn taken by the truce negotiations in Korea. The situation in Bonn offers no greater promise. The efforts of Chancellor Adenauer to hasten the integration of Western Germany in the Atlantic coalition are checked by each new German election (the latest setback occurred May 4 in Hesse).

At the same time demands are multiplying in every NATO country—and in Germany too—that the United States abandon its opposition to the conference on German unification proposed by Stalin. Diplomatic pressure, about which so little has appeared in the press, was so insistent during the last fortnight that Washington finally gave ground, declaring itself as at least not opposed in principle to such a conference. To the degree that the original Lisbon accord has been punctured by the subsequent disagreements of the major Atlantic powers, mutual reproaches and accusations are poisoning the diplomatic air of the West. In their private comments in the United Nations the Americans blame the Germans for asking too much and the French for conceding too little; but especially they blame the British, insisting that if Churchill as Prime Minister had maintained the position on the unification of Europe that he took when he was leader of the Opposition, all the time lost in ironing out differences among the continental powers could have been saved and the Western European "community," with West Germany inside, would long since have been a reality. The British for their part have reacted with indignation to Washington's renewed effort to put an American in command of NATO's Mediterranean forces. Said the London *Daily Mail*: "We sometimes wonder what the United States thinks we are. After all, the British Empire is not some Central American republic!" while the *Mirror* asks: "What would Nelson say?" No, harmony does not reign these days within either the Atlantic or the Adenauer coalition.

Viewed as a whole, the situation hardly justifies the tone of self-confidence adopted by Secretary Acheson only two weeks ago before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. It must confuse the average American to be assured at one moment that everything is going well and then be told a few weeks later that everything is at a perilous standstill. To explain this situation he can do one of two things: put all the responsibility on a single demon called the Soviet Union or try to discover if at least part of the evil does not stem from the absence of a foreign policy based on facts and honest analysis.

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An irresponsible campaign of blackmail and intimidation, waged not only by the Right but by the "half-Left" including liberals and labor leaders blinded by their hatred of everything remotely related to Moscow or anything that could be twisted into the appearance of such a connection, has prevented the free discussion of foreign affairs which might have helped Washington elaborate a policy both more realistic in terms of world events and more reassuring to the American people and their allies abroad.

In its issue of May 3, the *Saturday Review,* in an editorial commenting on a conversation that took place in Peoria, Illinois, quoted this sentence, spoken by a Bradley University professor: "If you're a professor dealing with some aspect of contemporary history—let's say Europe or the Far East or even the United Nations as an organization—you honestly don't know whether you should give the facts as you understand them or whether the thing to do is to say to yourself, the hell with the facts, and try to figure out what the big investigations will be about two years from now and then teach things today that will look good later."

But facts and the correct interpretation of facts are the basis of every successful foreign policy. Without this even the most powerful nation can be condemned to final failure, stumbling into a situation in which it is unable to make peace or to make war. Held in a strait-jacket by the slogans of its own propaganda, a foreign policy loses the agility that is indispensable for effective action.

THROUGH the same process of intimidation that paralyzed the Bradley professor, we have been deprived of our best commentators on foreign affairs in the press, the radio, in public discussions. A vicious and stupid campaign, pursued for years, has pretty well succeeded in branding as Communists or fellow-travelers anyone who dared to criticize the policy of containment, to advocate Big Four negotiations, or to dissent in any other way from the orthodox point of view. Some of these men have, it is true, managed to retain their jobs, but at the cost of spontaneity and frankness. Thus they have been rendered useless in their most essential function of orienting and informing a public opinion which in turn might be able to help avoid or correct the mistakes of the official makers of foreign policy. The few exceptions, such men as Walter Lippmann in the press and Howard K. Smith on C. B. S. from London, deserve the greatest credit for their frankness and courage as well as for their insight into world affairs.

Occasionally commentators are able to take advantage of the classic device of quoting a person so conservative or so eminent as to be above suspicion. Former President Herbert Hoover became available for such use when he said in one of his recent addresses: "There is in Europe today no such public alarm over the imminence of Communist invasion as has been fanned up in the United States. Russian ground armies could have overrun Western Europe in a two-months campaign any time in the past five years and can no doubt do it during several years to come. That they have not done so seems proof that the Kremlin can see no final military victory." Mr. Arnaldo Cortesi was similarly obliging last Sunday in the New York *Times* when, discussing the principal reasons for the difficult positions of De Gasperi in the coming Italian municipal elections, he listed as the first: "Fear of communism—which was unusually acute in 1948 and caused many right-wingers to vote for the Christian Democrats as the strongest and most active of the anti-Communist parties—has now diminished."

Such comments throw a useful light upon the reasons for the difficulties American foreign policy is now encountering, for if Moscow is unlikely to strike or if Europeans are losing their fear of communism, it is going to be rather hard to make Europe accept higher taxes and other sacrifices, not only material but political. President Auriol is reported by intimates as having said: "They [the Americans] are asking me to put all my energy into fighting an imaginary danger, a Russian invasion of France, while abandoning opposition to a real and well-known danger—the rearmament of Germany."

But it is not only the columnist, the radio commentator, the university professor who suffers the effects of the campaign of intimidation. American policy-

Plus ça change . . .

I know no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America. . . . In America, the majority raises very formidable barriers to the liberty of opinion; within these barriers an author may write whatever he pleases, but he will repent it if he ever steps beyond them. Not that he is exposed to the terrors of an auto-da-fe, but he is tormented by the slights and persecutions of daily obloquy. His political career is closed forever. . . . Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him. . . .

[Under tyranny in democratic republics] the body is left free, and the soul is enslaved. The sovereign can no longer say, "You think as I do on pain of death," but he says, "you are free to think differently from me . . . but if such be your determination, you are henceforth an alien among your people. . . . You will remain among men, but you will be deprived of the rights of mankind. Your fellow creatures will shun you like an impure being, and those who are most persuaded of your innocence will abandon you, too, lest they should be shunned in their turn."—*From "Democracy in America" by Alexis de Tocqueville (published 1835).*

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makers themselves bend under its impact. Secretary Acheson has been forced on several issues to adopt Republican policies not necessarily to his liking; Philip Jessup, an able negotiator, was politically crippled by the vote of no-confidence passed by the Senate on the eve of his departure for Paris to represent the United States in the U. N. Assembly, an action that was acidly —and incredulously—commented upon by European diplomats.

Never has a great nation been more in need of applying its best talents to the framing of an intelligent and workable foreign policy. Without it all the material and political strength America can muster will prove useless at this crucial turning point in history.

2,400 Miles to Prosperity

BY ROD VAN EVERY

SOME 2,400 miles west of the Atlantic Ocean, an icy creek ripples over black rock and foams into an inland sea. The creek is one of the headwaters of the mighty St. Lawrence River, pride of the Northeast. It feeds one of the greatest inland waterways of the world, the Great Lakes. It is the western end of the hated, maligned, praised St. Lawrence Seaway, a favorite subject for high-school debaters since the 1920's.

Actually, the St. Lawrence Seaway has been in operation for 150 years or so. Nature provided most of the route; Canada and the United States had to put their engineers to work in only a few spots. The present controversy, hotly disputed for twenty-five years, concerns only the deepening of an already existing waterway.

The toughest, most dogged fighters for an improved seaway are, understandably, from the Middle West and states bordering the Great Lakes. They are interested in the navigational aspects. They care little about the tremendous electric-power potential of the St. Lawrence, of prime importance to the Northeast. But they are sure that deeper channels, locks, and canals will mean all these things to the Midwest:

¶ A tremendous increase in traffic, often at lower rates, between lake ports and with Eastern ports and Europe.

¶ Fairer industrial competition with the Eastern Seaboard and Europe.

¶ An alternate route, in peace or war, for vital iron ore; increased steel production instead of the threatened migration of the steel industry.

¶ Retention of control by a powerful nation of a strategic waterway.

¶ Stabilized lake levels and an expanded Great Lakes shipyard industry.

¶ Such a general increase in the prosperity of a vast, important region of America that the entire nation would be benefited.

Opponents of the seaway—chiefly Eastern railroad, banking, coal, electric utility, shipping, and port interests—contend that none of these things will result; that deeper channels would mean only dislocation, perhaps permanent damage to their interests.

The arguments, pro and con, are an old story, but the seaway, with its improved power development, is going to be built. Canada is determined to go it alone if the United States will not cooperate. She has waited many years, watching with exasperation the way private-power politics and sectional interests have stalled Congressional action. Few, even among seaway opponents, believe that Canada is bluffing. Her parliament has given authorization. Her treasury is in good shape. An all-Canadian seaway route has been laid out. Her leaders have committed themselves to the undertaking. Canada needs the power output of the St. Lawrence; she needs the deeper channels.

Three questions remain. One is before Congress now: Shall the United States make it a joint project with joint control over tolls and operation?

The second: Can Canada legally go it alone? The consensus in Washington is that she can. She must work through some United States agency, probably the Federal Power Commission, and through the International Joint Commission set up in 1909 to iron out boundary disputes. Exploratory discussions are now going on.

The third question is whether to deepen channels west of Lake Erie if Canada builds the bigger seaway alone. The all-Canadian route would end with the Welland Canal. The twenty-one-foot upbound channels of the Detroit and St. Clair Rivers would keep big ships out of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior. All ports west of Toledo would be "high and dry" so far as twenty-seven-foot-draft ships are concerned. It is inconceivable to such ports as Detroit, Superior-Duluth, Milwaukee, and Chicago that the United States Government would not extend the deepened route all the way.

The chief seaway bottleneck is the string of fourteen-foot canals and locks in the St. Lawrence River between

ROD VAN EVERY, on the staff of the Milwaukee Journal, *has been specializing in the St. Lawrence Seaway story.*

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Montreal and Ogdensburg, N. Y. These are so shallow that only barges and short-draft ships can use them. Lesser bottlenecks exist in the twenty-five-foot canals and locks of the Welland Canal and in the twenty-one-foot upbound and twenty-six-foot downbound (deeper for heavy ore cargoes) channels of the St. Clair River and the Detroit River near Detroit, and the St. Marys River near Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Engineering plans call for cutting all these to twenty-seven feet, deep enough for most of the world's shipping.

On the basis of 1950 construction costs, the Army Engineers, famous for their too low estimates, put the full cost of the seaway at $818,000,000. America's share would be $566,000,000; Canada pays less because of the "credit" given her for work she already has done—rebuilding the Welland Canal and deepening the Thousand Islands section of the St. Lawrence.

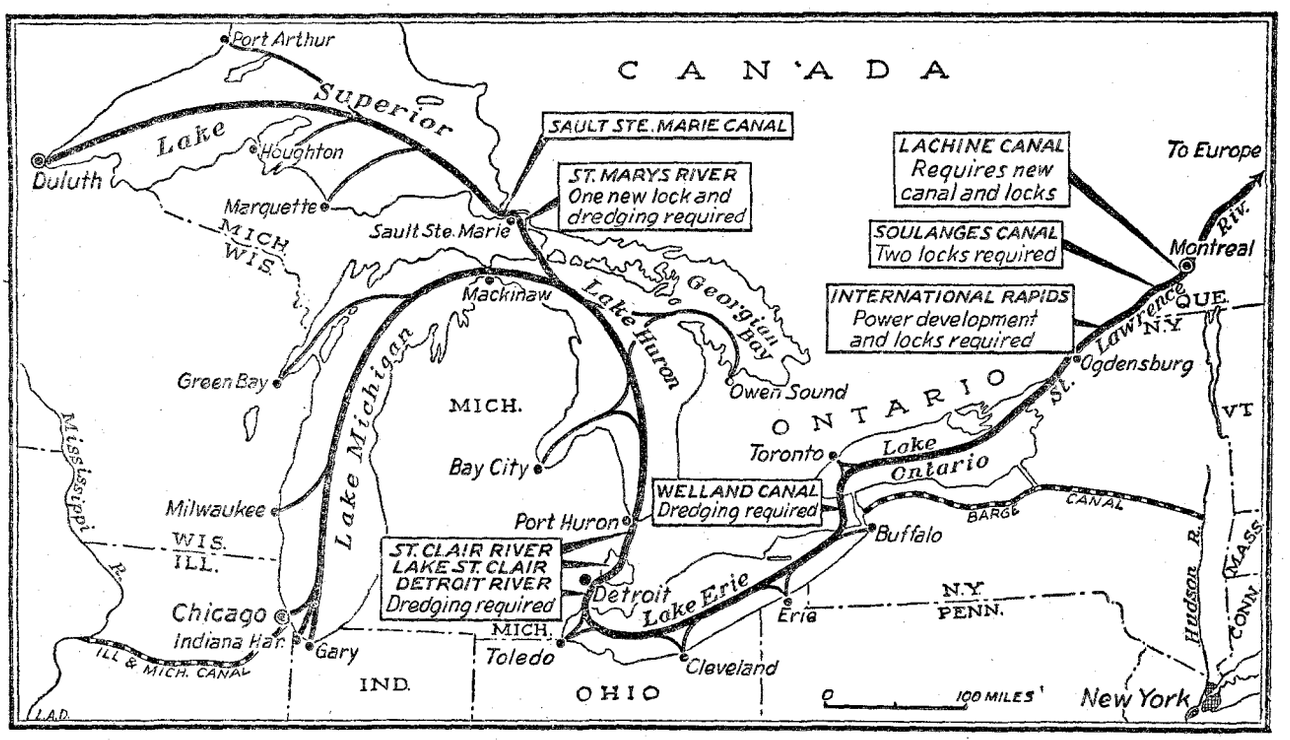
Seaway proponents insist the construction cost is of little moment because it would be spread over five to seven years and would be liquidated by cargo tolls. But the sum is a major obstacle to a Congress acutely aware of the public demand for economy. A recent amendment to seaway legislation would provide the money by empowering a government corporation to sell seaway construction bonds to private investors.

Congressional opposition to the seaway on the ground of economy is the more bewildering to lake states because of the huge appropriations for power, flood-control, and irrigation projects in other sections of the country, seaway building in Texas, channeling for the Delaware River, even seaway and power projects in France financed by detouring American dollars. The growing dissatisfaction of the Midwest was demonstrated this spring when an official state body of Wisconsin publicly asked its Congressional delegation to practice log-rolling with reverse English—"You block the seaway any longer and we'll block your pet project."

No matter what the cost of the deepened seaway, Midwest leaders feel, it is an economic necessity. Now, a Midwest manufacturer or steel fabricator must include in his bid on Eastern or European contracts the cost of rail transportation. If he could ship by water, the rate would be far lower and he would be in a stronger competitive position.

Some ocean-shipping rates from Great Lakes ports to foreign lands are the same as from East Coast ports. Further savings could be made on exports straight from Midwest port to European dock—elimination of East Coast transshipping, lower insurance rates, reduced warehousing and dockage, less breakage, perhaps less crating. One Midwest manufacturer recently won a Norwegian contract for paper-mill machinery because he could ship in a small Norwegian vessel and save $18 a ton. Others, however, have lost contracts because their products were too big and heavy for the holds of ships limited in size by the fourteen-foot St. Lawrence canals.

In spite of the present canal limitations, foreign trade with the Great Lakes ports has been steadily increasing. In 1949, the import-export total was 160,000 tons, valued at $51,000,000. Seven major foreign lines sail profitably into the Great Lakes, and some have even designed new ships especially for the shallow canals. Forty-one foreign-flag ships are in regular service this season and about ten others are in charter service.



Courtesy New York Compass

Principal Features of St. Lawrence Seaway (U. S. Army Corps of Engineers Proposal)

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Imports from the Midwest, now confined largely to manufactured products, will take on added significance when the St. Lawrence canals are deepened. Then it will be possible to bring in raw materials—iron ore, limestone, coal and oil—in great quantities. This is the low-value "bulk" trade, economically possible only in big ships and a great saver of manufacturing costs.

Iron ore from newly found fields in Labrador and Quebec is sure to outstrip all other imports in tonnage and importance. For many years steel furnaces from Buffalo and Pittsburgh on the east, through Ohio and Indiana to Chicago on the west, have gulped iron from the Mesabi Range in northern Minnesota. About 90 per cent of all the ore they use comes from the Mesabi, shipped in deep-draft lake boats. But the days of the high-grade, open-pit ore of the Mesabi are numbered. When the ore runs out, in fifteen to thirty years, there will remain low-grade taconite and other high-grade but underground ores. It is cheap to dig open-pit ore. To increase production—for instance, in war-time—you just use more power shovels. It is neither cheap nor easy to increase the output of underground mines or the recovery from taconite. The steel industry cannot use taconite as it is found in nature because there is too little iron in it. Concentrating plants are slow and costly to build, and they use a lot of manpower.

In time of emergency, the alternative for quick expansion in the steel industry is discovery of new supplies of high-grade, easily mined, easily transported iron ore. That combination was found in the Labrador-Quebec fields. The Labrador ore is of higher iron assay than Mesabi ore. It lies on the surface of the ground, like Mesabi. It can be easily and cheaply transported in Great Lakes ore boats from the port of Seven Islands on the land-protected Gulf of St. Lawrence—*if* the St. Lawrence canals are deepened.

If the seaway is not improved Midwest economists see this chain of events: Labrador ore destined for most of America's steel furnaces will be subject to long, expensive rail hauls. This will increase costs so much that a large part of the industry will have to migrate to the East Coast. This dislocation of a basic industry, involving other major industries such as automobile manufacture, will disrupt the economy of the Midwest, probably of all America.

During World War II most of America was scarcely aware of the importance of the Soo locks between Lakes Superior and Huron. Why have armed guards there? Anti-aircraft gun emplacements? Fighter-interceptor squadrons? The Midwest and its steel industry (shortly the Chicago-Gary district will surpass the Pittsburgh district in steel production) knew the answers and worried over the iron-curtained Soo.

If the Soo locks had been bombed, the flow of Mesabi iron ore would have been dammed in Lake Superior, with no outlet except the overworked, under-equipped railroads. America might very well have lost so much steel production as a result of bombing that it would have lost the war. Then there was no nearby, alternative ore source. Now there is—Labrador.

A NEW impetus to improve the seaway has come from parts of the Midwest within the last few months. It is not concerned with iron ore, navigation, or power, but with the weather and lake levels.

Unusually heavy snows and rains in recent years, coupled with fast run-offs because of deeply frozen or saturated ground, have caused most of the Great Lakes to rise steadily toward a new high. The fastest rise came in the past winter and early spring. Lake-shore dwellers, particularly on Michigan and Huron, watched their beaches disappear and saw storms do millions of dollars' worth of damage to their properties. Roads, trees, and utility poles were washed out; cliffs and summer-home foundations undermined; fishing shanties smashed; basements flooded; sewer outlets clogged; even the opening of cantilever bridges slowed.

And what has all this to do with the St. Lawrence Seaway?

True, deepened canals in the St. Lawrence, 600 feet below the level of Lake Superior, would have no effect on levels of any lake above Niagara Falls. But control works at the Welland Canal and in the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers, suggested as part of the long-range seaway plans, would stabilize the levels of Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan.

High water has its good points, too. To shipping interests it means millions of extra dollars in increased tonnage that can be carried cheaper, faster. The average Great Lakes bulk carrier can load ninety tons more into her barnlike hold for every inch the lakes rise. The additional tonnage costs little more to load and carry. To ports, high water means less dredging of canals, channels, and at docks, and less dry rot in pilings.

In high water or low, nobody expects the Queen

Beyond Comment

What others repeat as a platitude, Eisenhower has been asserting with the freshness of a discovery.—*From Eisenhower and the GOP by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., in* Harper's *magazine.*

Mrs. Eva Perón, wife of Argentina's President, celebrates her thirtieth birthday tomorrow. Argentine workers have planned special ceremonies and no newspapers will be published.—*Associated Press dispatch from Buenos Aires.*

[The Nation *will pay $2 for acceptable contributions to Beyond Comment.*]

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Elizabeth or the U. S. S. Missouri to come huffing up the St. Lawrence to dock in the Chicago River. But where the St. Lawrence canals now limit ship sizes to about 3,000 tons, deeper canals and bigger locks would open the way to ships of 20,000 or more tons.

This means that a major part of the United States navy could be built, outfitted, or repaired in the inland safety of the Great Lakes. In World War II such work was limited to submarines, destroyer escorts, small patrol craft, and seagoing tugs. Getting them into salt water was expensive. Many lake shipyards closed at war's end. Now, some Great Lakes ports expect a revived shipbuilding industry, military and commercial, with extension of the seaway.

It is difficult for the Midwest to believe that a world power like the United States would deliberately turn its back on a share in the control of one of man's greatest waterways. History points in the other direction. Nations have waged wars over control of strategic water routes. The Midwest seaway leaders have fought long and been frustrated often. They have had the backing of every American President since Woodrow Wilson, every investigating body, the best in military and economic opinion. Yet the medieval canals of the St. Lawrence remain.

The year is nineteen hundred and fifty-two. The time is short. If America won't, Canada will. And that is all right with the Midwest.

Bevanism Wins in America

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

IN THE spring of 1951, Aneurin Bevan resigned his Cabinet post in the British Labor government because, doubting the imminence of war with Russia, he considered the government's three-year rearmament program to be unnecessarily prejudicial to the British worker's standard of living. He argued, in vain, that the program should be spread over four years.

Mr. Bevan was bitterly attacked for months afterwards both in Britain and in the United States. American critics charged him with being ready to sell the "free world" down the Elbe to preserve free eyeglasses and false teeth for Britons.

It is now a matter of history that Churchill, returning to power in the elections held a few months after Bevan's resignation, suddenly decided that the Welshman was right. The Tory government has spread the British rearmament program, not over four years, but over an even longer period. What is also history, though less well known, is that even while American critics were attacking "Bevanism," our government was accepting the idea for its own rearmament program.

On February 5, the New York *Times,* reporting on the testimony of Secretary of Defense Robert R. Lovett before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, said in part:

> Last September, he [Lovett] continued, the theory behind the military budget was revised. It was then decided that, instead of attempting a great and costly rearmament effort designed to achieve minimum desired strength almost at once, the program would be slowed down and leveled off with the middle of 1954 as the approximate target date for completion.... The rapid rearmament planned until last September would have thrown a probably impossible burden on the economy.

So far as I know, not a single Washington correspondent pointed out that we were adopting "Bevanism" even as we were attacking Bevan. Today, when all the vital data are available in the Economic Report of the President of January, 1952, it is clear that Aneurin Bevan was right not only for Britain but for the United States as well.

Aneurin Bevan

Three factors are responsible for the slowdown in the tempo of American rearmament. Most important is the international situation; the conviction has gained ground that the Kremlin intends neither to start nor to provoke a war within the near future. This being the case, there is obviously no compelling reason to accelerate military production to a degree that would cause severe economic dislocation.

The second reason for the slowdown is the substantial priming period necessary to produce the complex equipment needed for modern warfare. If this priming period were to be sharply curtailed, the whole

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economy would be adversely affected. As the President's 1952 report says:

> Major difficulties have been encountered . . . in getting our military production under way. These difficulties involve chiefly the machine-tool and other bottlenecks, and design, engineering, and production problems associated with the decision to produce exceedingly complex equipment of the most advanced design, rather than to concentrate on large-scale production of types already in use.

The third reason for the slowdown is the fact that American standards of living, and the existing wage and profit levels, can be more easily maintained if the defense program is carried out at the present slower pace. The present rate of military expansion approximates the increase in over-all American production. This is a most important point, since it affects the living standards of our allies as well as our own.

Our total output in 1947 amounted to 270 billion dollars (in terms of 1951 prices)—about one-third higher than before the outbreak of World War II. This is in striking contrast to the experience of our European allies, who by 1947 were either still lagging behind their pre-war living standard or had barely restored it.

By mid-summer of 1950, our annual output had increased by approximately thirty billions; given impetus by the outbreak of the Korean war, it jumped an additional thirty billions by January, 1952. Since 1947, therefore, our annual output has increased by sixty billions—from 270 billions to 330 billions. "The sixty-billion-dollar increase," remarks the President's 1952 report, "was greater than the total cost of the security program in 1951." Thus even at the present level of production we can carry the military budget while maintaining our 1947 standard of living, which was one-third higher than in 1939 and only a little lower than in the spring of 1950, before the Korean war started.

But even this relatively small civilian sacrifice turns out to be unnecessary. Since the defense program has been spread over four years instead of three, the increase in arms production is by and large not greater than the increase in total production since the Korean war began. Arms expenditures at the end of 1951, for instance, amounted to about 14 per cent of national production compared to 8 per cent in 1950. But in the same period gross national production (calculated in 1951 prices) rose from 300 to 330 billion dollars, an increase of 10 per cent and more than enough to cushion the effect of the rise in military expenditures. The President's 1952 report indicates that our standard of living actually rose somewhat in 1951.

The situation will not be much different for us in 1952. This year military expenditures will increase by another twenty billion dollars (they are expected to reach a total of sixty-five billions by the end of the year). But this rise will be almost balanced, according to the President's report, by a 5 per cent rise—about fifteen to twenty billion dollars—in our overall production. Thus our growing arms expenditures will not require any major drop in the total output of consumer goods, although there will be some curtailment in *durable* goods such as automobiles and housing. Moreover, there is no doubt that the huge conversion program will cause considerable trouble in certain areas.

Any sudden increase in international tension could, of course, destroy the existing balance between arms production and overall output. For example, the American military budget does not provide large-scale appropriations for carrying on the Korean war. But if these are not called for, and no new "minor" war breaks out elsewhere, arms expenditures will hardly exceed the budget as now contemplated. This budget is smaller than the one the government laid down in 1950 when, immediately after the Chinese intervention in Korea, we simultaneously launched a huge rearmament program here and urged our European allies to do the same. That our expenditures have slowed down is made clear in the President's report: "The rate of expansion of the security program slackened toward the end of 1951. During the last quarter, security expenditures are estimated to have increased only three billion dollars, at an annual rate, compared with an average increase of six billion dollars in each of the previous three quarters."

According to the President's report of January, 1951, the proportion of total output devoted to security purposes, which totaled about 6 per cent before Korea and rose to 11 per cent in 1950, was to rise 15 per cent by the end of 1951 and to approach 20 per cent this year. In reality, 1951 military expenditures amounted to 14 per cent instead of 15 per cent, and will reach 18 per cent (instead of 20 per cent) by the end of 1952. These percentage differences would seem to be minuscule; in terms of money they amount to a great deal. Each per cent of national income spent for rearmament means we are three billion dollars more out of pocket. If, instead of spending 20 per cent of our national income on military production this year, we spend only 16 or 17 per cent, we have cut our military budget by ten billion dollars. That's more than double the total military budget of Great Britain, and more than the United States is spending this year for military and economic aid to all of Europe and Asia.

It adds up, then, to this: We who are refusing to sacrifice our relatively high living standards for rearmament cannot now complain because Britain, following Bevan's policy, is reluctant to do anything which would imperil its own much lower standards.

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The Retrogression of Senator Taft

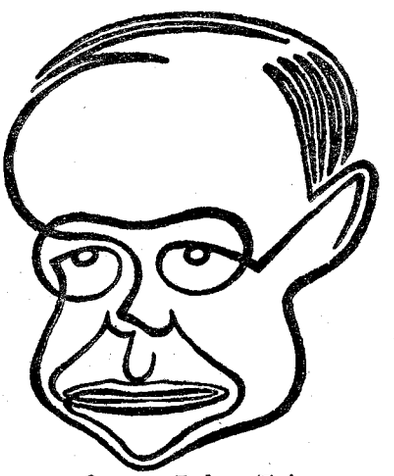
BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, D. C.

THIS campaign, it seems reasonable to believe, is proving a little puzzling to Senator Robert Alphonso Taft, the "Mr. Republican" who for the third time in twelve years is making his bid for the supreme prize within the gift of the Grand Old Party. All the tricks he is trying in 1952 were tested and found useful in Ohio just two years ago. He has groups of "lawyers for Taft" and "doctors for Taft" employing the direct-mail solicitations invented by Whitaker and Baxter, the American Medical Association's slick-paper propagandists. He is campaigning through the hamlets and big industrial towns of two dozen states as vigorously as he campaigned in Ohio for nearly a year before he was triumphantly reelected to the Senate. He holds babies; he shakes hands; he repeats speeches until he is admittedly sick of the sound of his own voice; he insists that he is "labor's true friend." He still claimed, as of last week, that he would go into the Republican convention in July with a majority of the votes on the first ballot and emerge as the Republican nominee with a mandate to make a better fight than Tom Dewey did in 1948.

Yet the suspicion exists among many observers that he is wrong, that his blitzkrieg tactics have failed, that once again he will lose the victory and end up making speeches for the successful nominee and facing the prospect of four years more as Senate Republican Policy Committee chairman, doomed to execute programs for some other Republican President or perhaps to fight another Democrat.

Taft's political life is an enormous irony. Able, intelligent, a skilled legislator, he has twice previously been tricked out of Presidential nominations that by all the rules might have been his. By the rules he should have been the nominee in 1940: he had served in the Senate only since the 1938 election but he had whipped a prime New Deal intellectual, Representative T. V. Smith of the University of Chicago, in a nationally broadcast series of radio debates, and he already was being hailed by the Old Guard as the Republican champion. But suddenly emerged Wendell L. Willkie, with Wall Street money and the public-relations techniques of the Henry Luce-Atlantic Seaboard "internationalists" behind him, and Willkie "stole" the nomination as the convention was stampeded by the packed galleries chanting his name. In 1948 Taft's chances were less dazzling, but he could have had the nomination if Harold E. Stassen had agreed, at the proper moment, to accept the vice-presidential place on a Taft-headed ticket. The Chicago *Tribune* did its best to promote this deal, and had it been concluded before the first ballot in Philadelphia, Dewey might have been blocked. It is amusing to recall that James S. Duff, then Governor of Pennsylvania, was pro-Taft in 1948 and would have been delighted to go along with a Taft-Stassen ticket. But Stassen would not deal, the anti-Dewey forces collapsed, and Taft was whipped. Today Duff is playing a role in the Eisenhower coalition.



Senator Robert Taft

Some people in this world have bad luck. They work hard, they live up to the maxims, yet they never win the prizes that fall to the Horatio Alger boys. The electorate never calls on them for "duty"—as Eisenhower would put it. Taft may be one of these unfortunate souls. He is the beau ideal of Republicans—except in Presidential years. He had all the money he needed—at least $2,000,000—when he was in trouble in Ohio in 1950 and his friends wanted to teach the labor boys a lesson. He is not precisely suffering from financial stringency this year; he has a large and capable staff of technicians, tacticians, and well wishers. But the big Republican money, the slickest public-relations boys, are behind Eisenhower. The coalition that backed Willkie in 1940 and Dewey in 1948 is still functioning—and it is anti-Taft.

As the campaign has grown hotter, and as Taft has seen blitzkrieg tactics fail to check the Eisenhower boom, the Ohio Senator has become so reckless and bigoted in his speeches that it is difficult to remember the Taft who used to be respected for his integrity. He was indignant when he was quoted two years ago as approving Senator McCarthy's attacks on the State Department. But he did not become indignant until weeks after the newspapers had carried the original story and he made no public denial until he thought he was in trouble in Ohio for supporting McCarthy. At Des Moines, last

This is the fourth of a series of profiles of persons most widely mentioned as possible Presidential candidates. Willard Shelton is a veteran Washington correspondent and a regular contributor to The Nation.

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October, he suggested that McCarthy had perhaps sometimes "overstated" his position. This won from Jumping Joe a warning rejoinder that he would not credit any report of a repudiation by Taft until he heard it himself—and he has never yet heard it. Instead, he had the pleasure of getting a Taft testimonial in Beloit last January, when Taft told a Wisconsin audience that the "pro-Communist" policies of the State Department "fully justified" McCarthy's demands for an inquiry. What nonsense is this? Decent people have excoriated McCarthy not for demanding an "inquiry," but for lies and character assassination that brought him a direct repudiation from the six Republican Senators who joined Margaret Chase Smith in her "declaration of conscience." Senator Taft's conscience has become so flexible that he apparently refuses to admit the difference. Taft cited the dismissal of John Stewart Service as justifying the McCarthy "inquiry." Is this the Taft who prided himself on saving civil liberties by blocking President Truman's ill-advised "draft strikers" bill in 1946?

Taft has deluded himself into believing the legend that Dewey's refusal to "fight" was responsible for the Republican debacle in 1948. He does not seem to realize that Dewey was placed in an impossible position by the Republican Eightieth Congress—that to "defend" such a Congress might very well have lost the Republicans more votes than to ignore it. So, as a campaigner in 1952, Taft has severely criticized Dewey's 1948 tactics; he thinks it necessary to show himself different from Dewey and to assail the Administration on every issue.

TAFT has become a military expert—although he has never served on either the Senate's Armed Services or Foreign Relations Committee—and he proclaims his august lack of confidence in our Joint Chiefs of Staff. Why? Well, Truman appointed them, didn't he? Taft believes we should build up air power rather than ground power. Why? Well, he has had some counsel from Brigadier General Bonner Fellers (retired), the Republican National Committee's military attaché, and from General Wedemeyer (retired), and a few others. And the Truman Administration, after all, is in favor of "balanced" forces of ground, sea, and air units. That is enough to make any good Republican fighting mad and certain the policy is wrong.

The Korean war is "Truman's war." It is the "unnecessary war." It is the war that was "invited" by Secretary Acheson. The record shows merely that Acheson warned that we could not hope to settle all the problems of Asia by our intervention—that our economic and military strength could be usefully applied only when our strength was the single "missing component" needed to help an area stabilize itself. Acheson never said that we would not fight to defend the Republic of Korea against gross and direct military aggression. Taft and the Eightieth Congress cut the heart out of the economic and military aid advocated by the Administration for Korea. But everything is Truman's fault—according to Taft.

Taft thinks he must "fight" to prove that he would be a different stripe of candidate from Dewey. If he tries to win votes by charging that the Administration "deliberately built up" Russia as a world power, he may be charged with a stupid and unworthy distortion of history. But he can't be charged with being "soft toward Truman."

Taft is hagridden with a desire to scotch the dreadful impeachment that he lacks political sex appeal, that as the Presidential nominee he couldn't win. So he told his audiences in New Hampshire that he had always been a winner in his political adventures and that in 1950, in fact, he won by the largest plurality ever given a candidate for the Senate in Ohio. He may have forgotten—it was so long ago—that he was licked in 1922 in a race for the Ohio state Senate, and that in 1938 and 1944 he barely won election to the United States Senate. But the Taft of even four years ago—the Taft who was more cautious about his statements and enjoyed a reputation for integrity—would have been expected to remember.

As a traditional conservative, Taft used to be valuable in the Senate. Traditional conservatives tend to be compromisers with democracy and with facts, and Taft in the 1940's was an advocate of "middle-way" public-housing bills and aid-to-education bills. Traditional conservatives respect law and order and the procedural niceties that safeguard individual rights; they are reluctant to support laws that restrict liberty. In 1948 Taft privately told reporters that there would have to be "substantial changes" in the Mundt-Nixon Communist-control bill before he could support it, that its registration-for-Communists provisions seemed to him of questionable legality. But in 1950 he voted without hesitation for the McCarran "internal-security" law, which imposed registration provisions on Communists and serious restrictions on freedom of movement of persons merely accused of improper political associations. He was running for reelection, just as were some liberal Democrats and Republicans, and neither Taft nor the liberals wanted to have to take time to explain away a vote against McCarran. That is the situation into which the country has been pushed by McCarthyism—and Taft thinks that his direct support of McCarthy, his encouragement of McCarthyism, can be balanced by the wisecrack that he would "welcome the support of Wayne Morse" as well as that of McCarthy. The insult to Morse is no worse than the insult to the intelligence of the

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voters generally. The cream of the jest is that McCarthy has never yet publicly declared for Taft; he has forced Taft to seek his favor yet he is free, if he thinks it desirable, to leap aboard the Eisenhower bandwagon.

Taft today is apparently incapable of such a speech as Senator Wiley made to the American Society of Newspaper Editors recently—a speech reminiscent of Vandenberg's moderation and sense of responsibility in discussing foreign affairs. The notion that Wiley could be intellectually more honest than Taft would have astonished leading Wisconsin citizens as recently as three or four years ago. Taft's partisanship, his desire to "fight" the Administration, has led him into preposterous overstatements and to reckless adventurism in the whole field of Far Eastern policy.

One wonders what this man would do in the White House. If he cites the Service case as justifying McCarthy, what protection could victimized public officials expect from his oath to preserve and defend the Constitution? If he would throw out the Joint Chiefs of Staff and "bring back MacArthur," as he has promised, to what lengths would he go in trying to overthrow communism in China with American armies—or perhaps just American bombs? Would the Southern Democrat he promises to place in his Cabinet be a man like Senator Byrd, who with Taft has been hostile to Mutual Assistance and Marshall Plan appropriations and has voted repeatedly to cut down assistance to Western Europe? Would he pull American divisions out of Europe or just slash our foreign-aid budget? Would he solve our labor-management problems by reviving his barely defeated 1947 proposal to make the Taft-Hartley act harsher by restricting industry-wide bargaining?

Taft's chances in the convention, it is clear, depend on whether the Midwestern and rotten-borough Southern delegates at Chicago can outmaneuver, outlast, and finally break down the coalition of Atlantic Seaboard and West Coast Republicans that nominated Willkie in 1940 and Dewey in 1944 and 1948. Taft is Colonel McCormick's candidate, the isolationists' candidate. He may say as often as he pleases that he now "supports" the North Atlantic Treaty Organization although he voted against NATO's ratification in 1949. But non-isolationists from the East Coast and West Coast do not trust him. Senator Morse does not trust him—and is driven by this distrust to support a military man, General Eisenhower, whose known position on domestic policies can scarcely be pleasing to the Oregon liberal. Senator Ives of New York and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts shrink from the nightmarish thought of running for reelection with Taft at the head of the Republican ticket. The contest for delegates is now reaching the no-holds-barred stage, and Taft is a tough and tenacious infighter in a political barroom brawl. It is a disagreeable truth that the Taft of 1940 and the Taft of 1948 were preferable to this curious campaigner of 1952, this Taft whose thwarted ambition makes him almost unrecognizable.

No Mandate for a Bolt

BY WILLIAM CARLETON

Gainesville, Florida

THE most surprising and significant feature of the Russell-Kefauver Presidential-preference primary in Florida on May 6 was the closeness of the vote. So far as Senator Russell is concerned, it fell so far short of expectations as well-nigh to preclude a formidable Dixie revolt against the Democratic Party this year.

Senator Kefauver was opposed by one of the strongest combinations in the history of the state, a fact that was repeatedly noted by the local press. A few days before the voting, an election prediction based on the observations of Florida's political correspondents gave Kefauver only about 40 per cent of the vote. Newspapers quoted Senator Spessard L. Holland as predicting a Russell sweep of more than two to one, possibly of three to one.

As it turned out, Russell and Kefauver ran a photo-finish race in southern and central Florida, and it was only the late returns from the rural, Old South counties near the Alabama and Georgia borders that gave Russell his relatively narrow victory. Delegates to the Democratic National Convention will be chosen in the second primary, on May 27, and indications are that Kefauver will win several of them.

Russell had behind him a misalliance of Dixiecrats, conservative regulars, "Presidential Republicans" voting in the Democratic primary, and friends of Governor Fuller Warren, who in the past frequently has been on the liberal side and an ally of former Senator Claude Pepper. Warren bitterly resented the Kefauver Committee's activities in Florida last year.

Large sums of money poured into Russell's campaign, some reputedly garnered from Northern conservatives and from national gambling interests; the Russell forces

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officially admitted spending six times as much as did Kefauver's. Russell had the vigorous and almost unanimous support of the press, overwhelmingly conservative. He also had the active and unanimous support of the Congressional delegations, solidly conservative, and of the vast majority of professional politicians.

THIS impressive array of Russell support must also be viewed against the deeper social and political background of the state. Florida, unlike north Alabama, for instance, has few former Populist counties. There is little manufacturing and organized labor is weak. Agriculture is predominantly specialized—citrus, fresh vegetables and truck crops, cattle raising. It is essentially a middle-class state with small and medium-sized residential cities where chambers of commerce and civic clubs are influential. In the Middle West such communities are the bulwarks of Republican strength; here they are bulwarks of conservative strength. Their conservatism has about it the flavor of prosperous Iowa towns, intensified and distorted by the race question. Nevertheless, Kefauver did surprisingly well in many of these centers, much better than Pepper did in 1950.

Russell's greatest single source of strength was his stand against President Truman's civil-rights program, particularly his statement, repeated over and again during the primary campaign, that as Democratic Presidential nominee he would repudiate any FEPC plank written into the Democratic platform at the convention. On the other hand, Kefauver stated that while he favored a voluntary FEPC he would support a compulsory one if the platform pledged it.

Florida's population contains many transplanted Northerners, but it has many more transplanted Southerners. For example, it is estimated that some 300,000 transplanted Georgians live here (to say nothing of those whose ancestry is Georgian), and many of them worked for Russell. In addition, squads of Georgia "minute men" with tri-colored cockades invaded the state to drum up enthusiasm for Russell.

A striking feature of the primary was the boldness of the conservative tactics, which were even more daring than those employed in the Pepper-Smathers campaign of 1950. In the closing days of the primary, Russell spoke alongside Fulton Lewis, Jr., at a meeting of the Associated Industries. Banks and building and loan associations displayed Russell pledge cards.

Nevertheless, Kefauver had some advantages. The most important was popular resentment over the gangsters, gamblers, and racketeers who for many years have been operating in the state, and the general disgust with political corruption and the low tone of official morality the country over. Some of the Kefauver Committee's most sensational charges were made during its Miami sittings, and these deeply disturbed the public.

Another advantage was the prevailing belief that the Tennessee Senator has a good chance to win the Democratic nomination while Russell has not. Voters were impressed by Kefauver's victories in the Northern primaries and often remarked that for the first time in a century a Southerner might actually be elected President; that a vote for Kefauver would not be wasted while a vote for Russell would be thrown away. To combat the appeal of this argument, Russell's forces stressed their candidate's loyalty to the national party and maintained that his prospects of being nominated were excellent. On the night his candidacy was launched in Atlanta, the Senator showed extreme annoyance when the chairman of the Georgia Democratic State Committee declared that "the South will sit at the head of the Democratic table or we won't sit at all." In every speech Russell insisted that if nominated he would surely win 148 electoral votes from the South, and that these, with only 118 additional votes from the North, would safely elect him. "Who doubts that I can get these 118 votes from the remaining thirty-five states?" he would ask.

It was claimed that Russell was not a bona-fide candidate for the nomination, that he merely wanted to go to the Democratic convention with enough delegate strength to be in a bargaining position, that he would not even have entered the Florida primary if that position had not been challenged by Kefauver's entry. Toward the end of the campaign Pepper charged that Russell's followers were largely Dixiecrats who were planning a bolt.

Pro-Kefauver speakers advised Russell to go after the Republican nomination, saying that he has a good deal in common with Republican Senator Mundt, who at that very time was campaigning for Russell in Mississippi. It was intimated that Russell was being used as an instrument by those intransigent Southern conservatives who are working for a Republican-Dixiecrat alliance either in the Electoral College itself or in the House of Representatives, which would elect a President if no candidate received a majority. To allay these doubts, Russell, the night before the primary, declared categorically, "I will not walk out of the convention in an FEPC fight."

Kefauver came through to the Florida voter as the more authentic internationalist. He made a strong appeal to the women voters, and women's organizations sprang up throughout the state to campaign for him. The state's biggest labor organizations endorsed him and he had the support of a large number of the 112,000 Negroes registered for the Democratic primary. The St. Petersburg *Times*, Florida's foremost liberal daily, did yeoman service for the Tennessean. State's attorney general

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Richard Ervin, who is a crime-buster in his own right, came out for Kefauver.

Kefauver himself proved to be an exceptionally able campaigner—friendly, imaginative, soft-spoken, outspoken, and indefatigable in shaking hands on street corners, in filling stations, in stores, in factories. He was careful to leave the impression that where Russell was concerned he was no mud-slinger—an impression that Russell did not trouble to give—and this helped him with the voters. His eighty-year-old father campaigned among the old folks and made a decided hit; his attractive young wife filled engagements the Senator couldn't make time for, and even the pro-Russell newspapers praised her vivacity and charm.

The outcome was close and certainly no mandate for a bolt. Even conservative Democrats, leaders and rank and file alike, for the most part voted for Russell in the belief that Democratic differences should be aired inside the party. Russell himself publicly endorsed this view.

Russell was a candidate in 1948 and received strong delegate support from the South. But when he failed to win the nomination or even to soften the platform resolutions on civil rights he did not bolt. And with Truman out of the picture there is even less sentiment for a bolt now than there was in 1948. Moreover, the international crisis has intensified since 1948, and Southern conservative Democrats, like Southern liberal Democrats, for the most part are not prepared to return to isolation or to support a foreign policy which gives priority to Asia over Europe; hence in the end Southern conservatives are not likely to allow themselves to become stalking horses for a Taft-MacArthur foreign policy. And should Eisenhower be nominated by the Republicans, the pressure for a Dixiecrat third party would be still further weakened, for in voting for Eisenhower on the Republican ticket, conservative Southern Democrats could simultaneously strike at Truman's domestic policies, which they dislike, and support his foreign policies, which they like.

Had Russell run in a Florida primary in 1948 he would probably have won by a bigger margin, for there was no Kefauver to oppose him. Yet while Florida rejected Pepper's bid for the presidency in 1948 and voted for Russell in the convention, it rolled up a handsome lead for Truman in the November election.

Central Africa in Black and White

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IN WEST AFRICA, where there are no white settlers but only traders and officials, the populous British colonies of Nigeria and the Gold Coast have recently won a large measure of self-government. This development is "disastrous" in the eyes of Premier Malan of the Union of South Africa, the only part of the Dark Continent where whites comprise even a sizable minority of the population. His government, which hopes to arrest the rising tide of African nationalism by establishing white supremacy on an impregnable basis, is occupied in sweeping away such meager constitutional safeguards as the vast native majority of the country now enjoys.

Caught between these cross currents, fearing both the thrust of Malanism, which is anti-British as well as anti-native, and the African demand for equal rights, the white settlers of British Central Africa have long sought salvation in unity. They desire a federal government for the three territories—Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland—to control communications and economic development. That, it is claimed, would make possible the better exploitation of the very large potential wealth of the area, now hindered by artificial boundaries and conflicting interests. Railroad extension would facilitate the movement of coal from Southern Rhodesia's enormous Wankie field to the fuel-starved copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. Development of the tremendous power resources of the Victoria Falls and other Zambezi River sites would benefit all three colonies. A unified market would assist the growth of Southern Rhodesia's secondary industries.

From the native point of view, however, the economic advantages of federation are much less obvious than the political disadvantages. They see it as a threat to the existing safeguards against discrimination, and still more as a barrier to future democratic advance. It would mean, said Chief Masokatwane of Northern Rhodesia in a recent London interview, "self-government for white people—handing us over to the European settlers whom we do not trust."

At present the political status of the three territories differs widely. Southern Rhodesia is a dominion whose self-government is limited only in respect to foreign affairs and by the British Government's rather tenuous power to protect native interests. But it is self-government by and for Europeans, who constitute about one-twelfth of the whole population. For while on paper there is no color bar at the polling booth, in practice educational and income qualifications deprive all but a handful of Africans of the franchise.

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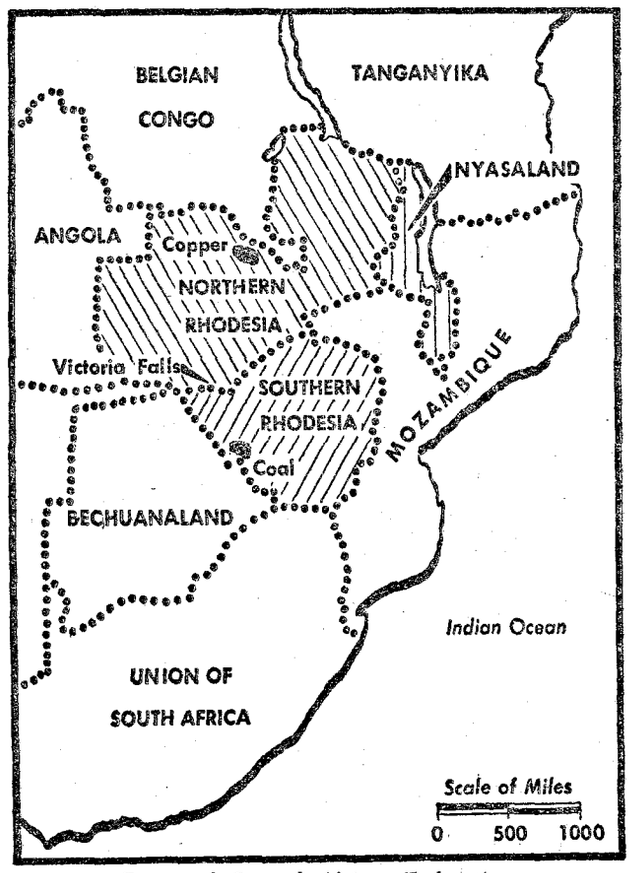
Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are both protectorates under the tutelage of the Colonial Office and governed in conformity with the principle laid down by a joint select committee of the British Parliament in 1931: "The interests of the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population should not be subordinated to those of a minority belonging to another race." Thus in Northern Rhodesia the white settlers, numbering some 30,000 out of a total population of about 1,500,000, elect only a minority of the members of the legislative council; and in any case the governor, who represents the British Crown, has full veto powers. Nyasaland, where the European population is minute, is administered by a governor assisted by executive and legislative councils which he nominates.

The protectorate is a very unsatisfactory form of government to the white settlers, particularly the aggressive group in Northern Rhodesia. They want "self-government" so that they can deal with "the native problem," obtain more land, and hasten economic development without constant interference from Whitehall. They support federation because, as their chief spokesman has said, "it offers our best chance of breaking with the Colonial Office."

The Africans, on the other hand, cling to Colonial Office rule despite the fact that in many ways it has failed to carry out the principles of trusteeship. Thus the color bar operates in Northern Rhodesia, where, for example, no native is allowed to hold a skilled job in the copper mines. Nevertheless, so long as the settlers are unable to acquire political power, the Africans feel that the way to gradual democratic progress will remain open.



Proposed Central African Federation

The opposition to federation arises from a belief that it would mean domination of the region by Southern Rhodesia and the extension to the protectorates of Southern Rhodesian native policies. Those policies were described in a letter to the London *Times* of April 29, signed by members of the African delegation to the London Conference on Central African Federation, as more nearly akin to those of the Union of South Africa than to those of any other British territory. "The two races," the letter declared, "are segregated in different areas of land by law. . . . No African may own land in any town, and an African may live in a "location" near a town only while employed by a European. No skilled work may be done by an African in any urban area. No African trade union is legally recognized. An African requires a 'pass' to move from one district to another."

This list of disabilities suffered by the African inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia, which might be greatly extended, goes far to explain why the native representatives from the protectorates are so suspicious of the white man's motives that they refused to participate in the London conference called to draft a plan for federation. Although this plan, which has not yet been published, is believed to contain various constitutional safeguards for native interests, the Africans are unlikely to be impressed. The recent history of South Africa has made it all too plain that such safeguards may prove scraps of paper. Africans are skeptical too about the talk of "partnership between the races" which has been a favorite theme with advocates of federation. This term has not been clearly defined but Africans suspect, not unjustly, that in practice it would turn out to be the kind of relation that exists between the farmer and his draft-oxen.

There can, in fact, be no genuine partnership between races in Africa until the Europeans agree to drop the color bar and accept the principle, once proclaimed by Cecil Rhodes: "Equal rights for all civilized men." That would mean giving Africans a chance to acquire skills and to rise to any position their ability warranted; the grant of full equality before the law; the ending of all qualifications for the franchise other than literacy —in short, renunciation of the whole doctrine of white supremacy. Failing this, the African, as a special correspondent of the *Economist* wrote on January 26, will react "by rejecting 'partnership' as a sham and defiantly proclaiming his own brand of 'black supremacy.' After all, in Africa, there are far more Africans than Europeans; if there cannot be genuine partnership, then let numbers alone count."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

THE USES OF RELIGION

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

A GENERATION ago only the religious were interested in religion. Most "intellectuals," most scientists, and most sociologists assumed that it was, at most, a survival not destined to survive much longer. Today members of these same groups write books about it and religion is assumed once more to have a future as well as a past.

Two recent symposia* are cases in point. In the first, twenty-nine "intellectuals" discuss the subject as it presents itself to a predominantly literary avant garde; in the second, nineteen somewhat more diverse persons—sociologists, Christian clergymen, rabbis, philosophers, etc.—address themselves to the same topic. Despite the titles, "Religion and the Intellectuals" is the more directly concerned with "culture" in the narrow sense of the term; "Religious Faith and World Culture" more concerned with the political and economic aspects of the problem. The twenty-nine make confessions of faith or the lack of it; the nineteen are more likely to ask whether society can cohere when deprived of some set of basic assumptions commonly accepted which a religion supplies.

Inevitably there are some desperate involvements with the difficulties of definition and among the "intellectuals" there is universal agreement on no single point. There are, for example, those who deny that "intellectuals" really have become interested in religion and others who deny that they ever ceased to be. Allen Tate begins, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth"; Meyer Schapiro begins, "The recurrent interest in religion today is a sign that the great effort of emancipation that began three centuries ago has not been successful, or at least has not completed its work." Nevertheless, one finishes the discussion with the sense that there has been, on the whole, a tendency to agree, first, that to call oneself an intellectual is less likely now than it was a few years ago to imply a definite lack of sympathy with everything which can reasonably be called "religion"; and, second, that this fact may mean at least a little more than a superficial change in fashion.

Several of the "intellectuals" are nevertheless very acutely aware of the fact that the avant-garde sympathy with religion is often no more than an intellectual affectation, and without denying that it is sometimes genuine, more than one makes shrewdly satiric thrusts at the shallowness of what sometimes passes for a religious attitude. Thus, on the subject of those who have concluded that religion is necessary to culture, Hannah Arendt observes: "The idea of somebody making up his mind to believe in God, follow His Commandments, praying to Him and going regularly to church, so poets again may have some inspiration and culture be 'integrated,' is simply exhilarating. . . . One cannot escape the question of truth and therefore cannot treat the whole matter as though God had been the notion of some especially clever pragmatist who knew what it is good for." From a related point of view Robert Graves pays his respects to the Evelyn Waughs who boast their orthodoxy without showing any disposition either to sell all they have to follow Jesus or even to work for the conversion of unbelievers. When he knew Waugh and Graham Greene at Oxford, both "appeared to be impressed only by the dramatic possibilities of the confessional and by the church's amusingly strict stand on the Seventh Commandment." In a somewhat similar vein William Barrett compares the attitude of certain intellectuals who "seem to have discovered a very salable commodity—a suave but vague 'spiritual rhetoric' that gives many people the illusion they are somehow getting more than they are willing to pay for," with that of the Christian business man of the twenties who interpreted Jesus as a successful business executive. And he wonders what a certain tense young man who smokes, drinks, and—so far as one can guess—practices birth control could possibly have meant when he rose in a public gathering to assure Mr. Nehru that "we intellectuals in America want you to know how much Gandhi means to us."

WITH this aspect of the matter "Religion and World Culture" concerns itself little, but the two symposia are drawn together by a question to which all the "intellectuals" were asked to reply. Is "the present revival of religion" due to "the worldwide failure and defeat of a real radical movement in politics" and to "a renunciation of hopes for any fundamental social improvement"? And the group to which this question was not specifically posed is the group which seems most united in a sort of implied answer to it and which takes what might be called the more consistently secular attitude. Most of even those members who are professionally concerned with religion seem to assume that religion is important chiefly because of its social utility and have little to say of the religious experience as a personal thing or of what salvation for an individual soul may mean. In one way or another most of them are occupied with the question whether or not religion can oppose the the evils which accompany world revolution, technological development, statism, or what not.

In other words, both the question actually posed to the intellectuals and the answer to it which seems often accepted by the members of the other group tend to prejudice the discussion because they are thoroughly secular. They seem to assume that both the real cause and the real importance of any phenomenon must necessarily be sociological, and thereby incline if they do not actually force the reader to conclude that any "revival of religion" must be, not a religious or even a philosophical movement, but simply a "reaction" to something more fundamental. Marianne Moore implies a protest when she writes as the first of a characteristic series of detached sentences, "The helplessness of individuals and of society I

*Religion and the Intellectuals. Partisan Review Series, Number Three. 80 cents.
Religious Faith and World Culture. Edited by William Loos. Prentice-Hall. $5.

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attribute to breakdown in the individual." R. P. Blackmur, on the other hand, states very simply and explicitly a thesis which the habits of mind dominant in the phrasing of the questionnaire led its formulators to overlook. "I should not suppose that the revival of religion is in any way a result of the failure of radical politics, nor that religion could remedy any breakdown in the organization of society. I should prefer to believe the political failure and breakdown in organization resulted from prior or parallel failure of response to religious experience."

Considered from this point of view—and I think it is the most fruitful one—the "revival of religion" is not, strictly speaking, either religious or a revival, for nothing, neither a religion nor anything else, has actually been revived. What has really come about is simply the realization that naturalistic positivism has not worked very well and that it has not worked very well because it has failed to establish those norms of conduct which the individual as well as society needs for successful living. What "the intellectuals" have been experiencing is less the discovery of a faith than the loss of one—the loss, that is to say, of their faith in irreligion, for late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century naturalism was a positive and not merely a negative thing, the declaration of a conviction that scientific materialism, relativism, and doubt were capable of supplying whatever we need to live by. Thus the so-called "revival of religion" is a loss of faith in skepticism rather than a decline in skepticism about faith. And that of course explains why the positive aspects of the "revival" are so shoddy; why "intellectuals" so often either adopt Waugh's pietist snobbery or, even more commonly, profess, not their belief in God, but their conviction that it would be a fine thing for "culture" if everybody did believe. Strachey once remarked that whereas to most Victorians the loss of their religion was the shedding of a burden, there were a few, like Clough, to whom it seemed the loss of a portmanteau full of necessary articles which they spent the rest of their lives looking for. Most intellectuals belonged formerly to the first class; more and more of them have been joining the second.

What seems to me increasingly clear is simply that scientific materialism, Marxist determinism, and the anthropologist's relativism are alike incapable of providing certain things which we cannot get along without. To accept any one of them as a complete account of reality is to find ourselves in a position where it is impossible to believe either that one thing is better, absolutely, than another or that we are capable of deciding to do one thing rather than another. It is to deny free will and to declare that all value judgments ar ultimately invalid. Neither the individual nor society can function successfully under such conditions.

I strongly doubt that any considerable number of "intellectuals" find either the concept of revelation or Christianity as an institution congenial in itself. Mysteries, sacraments, dogmas, and scholastic metaphysics are all stumbling-blocks. But a Christian can believe in the effectiveness of his own decisions, and he can make value judgments. To gain these two inestimable privileges a considerable number of people, seeing no other way of achieving them, make a desperate effort to believe that they can accept a faith upon which they were once based.

The Chinese-Soviet Axis

MAO'S CHINA: PARTY REFORM DOCUMENTS, 1942-44. Translation and Introduction by Boyd Compton. University of Washington Press. $4.50.

ONE cause of the current open season on China specialists has been a bifurcation in the American approach to Chinese communism. Formerly, American specialists on China seldom worked on international communism, while specialists on communism seldom worked on China. The result was that those who approached the Chinese Communist revolution by way of Moscow could see it as mainly an achievement of the Comintern, or at least of the Leninist philosophy and technique of revolution. Those who approached the same scene, however, by way of China's domestic history over the last century could see a steadily developing revolutionary movement within China which, in its latest phase, had been "captured" by the Communist leadership. Henceforth neither of these approaches (whatever their merit in the past) will any longer be adequate for the understanding of Communist China. The internecine Sinological warfare of recent months may continue in some measure until these two approaches are synthesized and resolved into one, but resolved they must be, sooner or later. We shall have no China policy adequate to our needs until we understand how China today can be both Chinese and Communist.

Boyd Compton's volume, "Mao's China," provides important documentation for this purpose. His selection of "party reform documents" from the period 1942-44 can give American readers direct insight into the Leninist ideology which underlies Maoism. Mr. Compton has translated a score of key statements by Mao and other Chinese party leaders, excluding writings of Stalin and other non-Chinese which were used in the reform movement but are already available in English. The resulting volume is one of the University of Washington publications on Asia sponsored by its Far Eastern and Russian Institute and published with the assistance of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. Compton's illuminating forty-page introduction analyzes the position of the Chinese Communist Party during the early years of the anti-Japanese war: In its war bases in North China—the "border region" and the "liberated areas"—the party found itself facing great opportunities and dangers. As part of its united-front line, it supported "coalition governments" in which Communists, Nationalists, and non-party persons were equally represented in form, even though the Communists held the final power in the background. Similarly, in this "Yenan" period, the Communists made an appeal both to the tenants and the landlords by seeking a reduction of rent and interest rates, yet at the same time guaranteeing rent and interest payments.

The very moderation of this program by which the Communists gained hegemony and local power in North China created severe internal problems within the party. During the war against Japan the party membership increased some twelvefold. A tremendous number of enthusiastic youth and patriotic followers of Mao's "new democracy" had

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to be assimilated into a party which in its basic philosophy had remained Leninist and committed to "democratic centralism." To complicate this problem, the war bases were separated among the Japanese-held communication routes. Centralized control through the movement of personnel or a central police power was all but impossible. In a situation where radio contact was the main cohesive device, a great premium had to be put upon ideological, as opposed to administrative, unity. Mr. Compton sees the party-reform *(Cheng-feng)* movement as principally an effort to use the doctrines of orthodox Communism (in their Maoist adaptation for China) as a means for maintaining unified control, raising the level of political sophistication of the party membership, assimilating the new recruits of the war-time period, and thereby regulating the course of the party's growth and political development.

The reform movement was inaugurated by Mao in February, 1942. It was the forerunner of the present-day movement for study, self-criticism, and investigation, which now has reached a more violent level on a broader plane. A decade ago, however, self-criticism and public confession were already Chinese Communist techniques, although Mr. Compton believes the movement did not become and should not be called a "purge" in the usual Russian sense of the term.

From the internal-party point of view, Mr. Compton suggests that the reform movement was used by Mao to effect the final consolidation of his leadership as against that of the group of Moscow-trained Chinese Communists under Wang Ming, who had remained his chief rivals since their return from Russia in the early 1930's. As evidence for this thesis he cites the fact that none of these reform documents was produced by this Russia-returned group. A major effort of the "ideological remolding" was "the eradication of dogmatism—dogmatism of all types, but principally dogmatic imitation of Russian models." This did not mean a repudiation of Stalinism at all, but rather a repudiation of dogmatic theorizing. "Mao's idea of a real theoretician in 1942 was one who had done as much organizing as he had reading. The object of the movement was the bolshevization of the Chinese party in the sense that the Chinese Communists took a 'greatly intensified interest in any lessons it could take from the experience of the Russian party.'" Mao's "new democracy" had already accepted the Stalinist interpretation of Chinese history and the orthodox bolshevik view of the class struggle and of the function and organization of the centralized party. The net result was a "greatly increased rate of absorption" of the Russian message for the Chinese revolution.

The greatest significance of *Cheng-feng* was Mao's insistence that Marxism be made Chinese. This effort at the Sinification of Marxism and the development of writings which were Marxist in principle but Chinese in content, contributed to the final amalgam—a Chinese Communist doctrine ("Maoism") based on orthodox Stalinism. This provides the occasion for China's being today the junior partner in an axis, rather than a satellite of the Eastern European variety.

As we watch the application of the Maoist adaptation of Stalinism to the Chinese scene, we are not likely to find reassurance that Communist China must soon break with Russia. On the contrary, we should derive a keener sense of the failure of the West in the generation before the 1940's to offer China an adaptation of its own principles which could be more effectively applied to meet the needs of Chinese life. This was, of course, a task for Chinese leadership in China, not for Westerners; yet the fact remains that the liberal-democratic West was not able to provide an equally streamlined method for the organization and consolidation of revolutionary power. The American people, who had contributed so much to the development of China's social revolution, could not suggest to the new China how her political revolution might be organized and channelized. Political revolutions, of course, gravitate toward dictatorship, and we have few teachings to offer to dictators. Yet it seems plain that the organization of power in China was the essential ingredient which the Western democratic model could not provide. Indeed, this lack had already been acknowledged by Sun Yat-sen when he turned to Comintern help in 1923 and by Chiang Kai-shek thereafter when he based his

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power increasingly on the Kuomintang apparatus. It is still the major problem which Western democracy faces in Asia.

J. K. FAIRBANK

Gothic Novel

THE MONK. By Matthew Gregory Lewis. The Grove Press. $4.75.

"THE MONK" was written in 1794 when its author was nineteen. It was enormously popular for some years, gained him the sobriquet of "Monk Lewis," the friendship, later, of Byron and Scott, and the reputation of having written one memorable book. After the third edition it was expurgated, though what was deleted to suit contemporary proprieties is no more shocking than what was allowed to remain. Little read since the early nineteenth century, it has been reprinted in its entirety by the Grove Press with a valuable introduction by John Berryman.

It is an authentic prodigy of great aesthetic and psychological interest, a sensational example of how far a novelist whose experience must have been slight can go on little more—but how important these are "The Monk" witnesses—than imagination and feeling. Further, Lewis followed a fashion in writing which regularly produced bad novels, this one, and "The Mysteries of Udolpho" and "The Italian" by Ann Radcliffe excepted. The fashion was that of the Gothic novel, a kind of fiction which succeeded very well for a few decades in disturbing pleasantly the nervous systems of idle women. It was derided by the best critics of its brief day, but it, and "The Monk" in particular, did influence, along with many others, Scott, Hoffmann, Poe, Hawthorne, and Emily Brontë.

The triple plot has all the trappings of such fiction, touching on, to list a few characters and "subjects," one unjustly imprisoned and one ghostly and bleeding nun—Coleridge found the tale of the latter "truly terrific"—a villainous prioress, the wandering Jew, a baleful beauty who sells herself, most profitably, to the Devil, rape, incest, matricide, three serious cases of injured innocence, bandits, ruined castles, and the Spanish Inquisition.

Ambrosio, the monk of the title, gives life to some of these clichés; his history soars above the others, though the book is highly readable as a whole. He is a triumph of the imagination. By ancestry he comes of a long line of malign Roman Catholic clerics invented by Protestant propaganda. But he is also a genuinely Faustian character. Lewis's rationalism is superficial and conventional. As he writes he genuflects regularly and perfunctorily before the eighteenth-century detestation of what was usually called "monkish superstition" and then hastens about his real business, the formulation of the thought and feeling of a man who manages, slowly but utterly, to damn himself, though to make damnation certain he must summon up the Devil.

We are told in the opening chapter that Ambrosio, the idolized confessor and preacher to a vaguely sketched Renaissance Madrid, is at heart a hypocrite, proud and vengeful, his original goodness corrupted by his training. Until he is thirty, however, his outer life is innocent. Lust is the beginning of his ruin. It is first aroused by Matilda, herself a remarkable creation, who, out of what she considers platonic passion, contrives to live with him disguised as a novice. The rapid shifts from mutual self-deception about what they seek from one another to mutual seduction and then to satiety on Ambrosio's part are finely drawn. Then, in a crescendo, he seems to take the management of the book into his own hands. He falls in love with the pathetic Antonia. Love becomes lust, and he murders her mother when she interrupts him in attempted rape. He succeeds at a second effort, but hard on success comes self-loathing and remorse. By this time the officers of the Inquisition are at the door and he signs a contract with the Devil too late to save himself from minutely described earthly torments and consignment to eternal flames.

Lewis makes all this very important. His imagination and his feeling infuse the most tritely shocking situations with life and meaning. He never loses sight of the center of his imagined panorama: an immortal soul is in balance. The novel gets better and better toward the end as the other characters disappear and Ambrosio is left almost alone with the Evil which attracts and repels him. For Lewis had a fully developed if not subtle awareness of Evil and was able to give a convincing body to his imagin-

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ings of the ways in which fallible mortality responds to its blandishments. Though the history of the century and one half subsequent to the appearance of "The Monk" has diminished the capacity for feeling and believing as spontaneously and as strongly as he did, yet reading him—this boy!—one cannot avoid sharing, if only for the moment, his central preoccupation.

ERNEST JONES

"Nothing But a Painter"

GUSTAVE COURBET. By Gerstle Mack. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

COURBET. Texte de Pierre MacOrlan. Paris: Editions du Dimanche (at Wittenborn and Company, $8.75).

TO HIS valuable biographies of Cézanne and Toulouse-Lautrec, Gerstle Mack has now added a third, of like stature. All three are strictly compilations of fact in chronological order. As such, they provide indispensable reference points for critical interpretation —which Mack leaves for others. The sixty illustrations, of rather poor quality, combine documentary photographs with an adequate selection of Courbet's work. A full index is included, as well as notes to sources and a map of the Besançon-Ornans region, where Courbet painted when he was not in Paris, and of western Switzerland, where he spent his final years in exile.

"Shout loudly and march straight ahead!" This maxim, which Courbet inherited from his grandfather, became a sort of leit-motif for Courbet himself. His conceit was (like his nudes) ponderous, but his joviality made it endurable, even as his massive good looks made it plausible. For sheer aggressive virility among painters, Goya and perhaps Caravaggio are his only real competitors. A living rival in another field, once accused of wearing false hair on his chest, is hardly in the running.

Courbet was "nothing but a painter," says Mack, referring to his misadventures in politics and elsewhere. This is so exactly true that one may fairly ask how much any biography of Gustave Courbet can reveal of the artist by the same name. His social origins are certainly relevant, as is the geography of his homeland. In addition, the facts of his life clarify the literal-mindedness which sometimes inspired and sometimes destroyed his plastic power. It is reassuring to observe, in the full detail that Mack affords, that Courbet's healthy sensuality was as strong—and as external—in his life as it was in his art.

In a much too flowery essay, MacOrlan attempts an interpretation of Courbet. The most interesting part of it relates the hunting pictures to Courbet's own prowess as a huntsman. Here life and art overlap in a sort of "natural brutality." But Courbet was also capable of a distinctly erotic tenderness, which in certain passages rivals Correggio (Sleeping Girls, for example). The common factor in this paradox, MacOrlan suggests, is the sensation of physical touch. In Courbet, hand and brush are hardly distinguishable: one was the extension of the other.

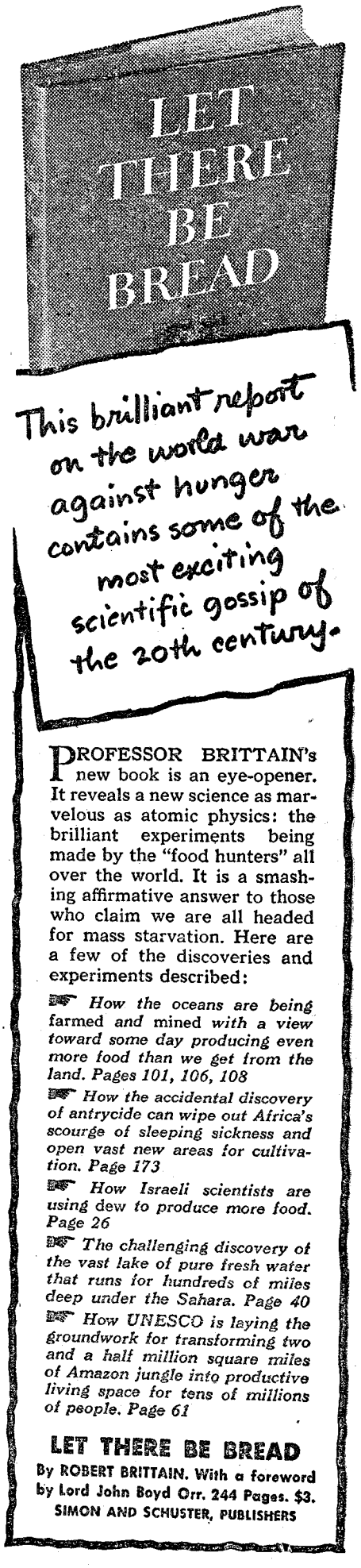
The plaes accompanying MacOrlan's essay, particularly the superb details, make this clear enough. In addition, they extend the range of Courbet's work beyond Mack's somewhat conventional selection of examples. Lot and his Daughters, a rarely reproduced early work (wrongly described by Mack), is included; but there are no still-lifes, no Etretat cliffs, and none of the late, surprisingly ethereal marines. I do not mean The Wave, which is, after all, a kind of self-portrait.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

After Reconstruction

ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH, 1877–1913. By C. Vann Woodward. A History of the South, IX. Edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. Louisiana State University Press. $6.50.

"WE ARE in favor," announced a Vicksburg, Mississippi, editor in 1881, "of the South, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, being thoroughly and permanently Yankeeized." His whole section might have subscribed to another newspaper headline: "MEN OF MILLIONS TO REDEEM THE SOUTH." Never before had rape been so "desperately sought, implored, cajoled." Symbolic of the return of the South to the restored Union and of its willing subordination to Northern industrial dominance was the marriage of a North Carolina belle to the seventy-one-year-old oil magnate, Henry M. Flagler, who commemorated his con-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quest by erecting a $2,500,000 palace for his bride at Palm Beach.

The process by which the Southern states, after four desperate years of Civil War and a decade of Reconstruction disorder, became reintegrated into the economy and politics of the Union has been a subject little explored by historians. There are more than enough books on the ante-bellum South, slavery, the Confederacy, and the politics of Reconstruction, and on a later era one has the invaluable work of Howard Odum, Rupert Vance, and V. O. Key; but the intervening era, from Reconstruction to New Deal, has remained a lost period to most American historians.

With the publication of C. Vann Woodward's "Origins of the New South, 1877-1913," there can no longer be any justification for ignoring a period and a process which deserve careful study. As one might expect from Professor Woodward's earlier writings on Southern history—"Tom Watson" (1938), still the best biography of any Populist leader, and "Reunion and Reaction" (1951), an almost revolutionary reappraisal of economic forces during Reconstruction—this is a book that is crammed with facts and with ideas. Based upon vast research, presented with critical objectivity, and written with clarity and at times with wry wit, "Origins of the New South" is as important as it is provocative.

The most outstanding thing about this latest, and perhaps best, volume in the "History of the South," being published by the Louisiana State University Press, is its lack of Southernness. This is not a book about magnolias and happy pickaninnies. Instead, it is a realistic reappraisal of basic social and economic forces in the South seen against a national background. If Ohio had a John D. Rockefeller, North Carolina had a James B. Duke, and not even "the standard mustache and goatee" of the Southern robber baron could make him differ very much from his Northern counterpart. "Let buffalo gore buffalo, and the pasture go to the strongest" was the motto of the Bull Durham tobacco firm, and other Southerners likewise attempted to apply social Darwinism to the post-war economic struggle. They might talk with drawls or dress like Confederate colonels, but these captains of industry were as hard and unscrupulous as they were successful. Lending money to farmers at interest rates of 43 per cent or more, exploiting mill labor at an hourly wage of not quite 3 cents in 1890, extracting favors from purchasable legislatures, these champions of the New South liked to fancy themselves as the successors of the ante-bellum gentry. Writing of this "social revolution the most unrecorded and undepicted, in proportion to its magnitude, that ever was," Henry James rightly saw "this reversion . . . to the things of the heroic age, the four epic years," as "a definite soothing salve."

Dissatisfaction and discontent with these lords of creation could be heard, but the protests were ineffective. The Southern Negro was at the bottom of the economic order, and he remained there. Bourbons might exploit his vote or Populists disfranchise him, but it made little difference so long as he was virtually a peon on farm or in factory. His brief day of political achievement during Reconstruction was forgotten, and his new leader, Booker T. Washington, gave him soothing syrup in "a gospel of conservatism, patience, and material progress."

Southern white farmers were more articulate but equally impotent. The gains of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist movements were bartered away in the shabby politicking of their leaders. "With the agrarian radicals in alliance with the party of big business and the party of white supremacy in combination with Negroes against lower-class whites," Professor Woodward observes, "it was little wonder that the masses lost confidence and became apathetic." A Watson or a Tillman of the 1890's, if often misguided, had some constructive proposals; a Blease or a Bilbo, who succeeded to Southern leadership, never "rose above the level of an obscene clown."

In one essential way, however, this "New South" was different from the rest of the rapidly industrializing nation. With its late start and its heavy handicaps, the whole area became an economic colony of the Northeast. Southern railroads, Southern steel, Southern banking, Southern plantations came under the control of Northern capital. Southern business leaders could migrate or remain as puppets in their native region. "Cut off from the better-paying jobs and the higher opportunities, the great majority of Southerners were confined to the worn grooves of a tributary economy. . . . The inevitable result was the further intensification of the old problems of worn-out soil, cut-over timber lands, and worked-out mines."

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Today's Southern problem is the result of the historical processes which Professor Woodward so admirably analyzes. Perhaps one of the most hopeful things about the present-day South is the fact that such Southerners as Mr. Woodward can think so critically and write so clearly about its past.

DAVID DONALD

Films

MANNY FARBER

HOLLYWOOD films were once in the hands of non-intellectuals who achieved, at best, the truth of American life and the excitement of American movement in simple-minded action stories. Around 1940 a swarm of bright locusts from the Broadway theaters and radio stations descended on the studios and won Hollywood away from the innocent, rough-and-ready directors of action films. The big thing that happened was that a sort of intellectual whose eyes had been trained on the crowded, bound-in terrain of Times Square and whose brain had been sharpened on left-wing letters of the thirties, swerved Hollywood story-telling toward fragmented, symbol-charged drama, closely viewed, erratically acted, and deviously given to sniping at their own society. What Welles, Kanin, Sturges, and Huston did to the American film is evident in the screen version of Dreiser's "Sister Carrie," which is less important for its story than for the grim social comment underscoring every shot.

You first see Carrie Meeber, rural and naive (Jennifer Jones), rushing to get off a daycoach while a drummer tells her she is making a mistake: "South Chicago? That's the slums." The remark, which makes a 1909 masher sound like a 1952 social worker, is full of meanings that the movie audience by now is wise to, and the writers need only touch on Carrie's first threadbare months in the city. The next few scenes are also immersed in social significance and accomplish the same kind of half-implied story-telling. One of them shows a crabby foreman driving Carrie so relentlessly that she runs a needle through her finger and loses her job as a shoe-stitcher. Since the foreman is played by a spidery bit player always type-cast as a mean "pinch-penny," and since his dialogue runs to sentences like "Here's a dollar, a whole day's pay," the spectator has picked up a quick course in non-union labor in no more than two minutes of screen time.

The most important aspect of all this social significance is its prejudice against Americans, who are being ridiculed in films as completely as they were in the writings of Mencken. In this movie, the bias is managed, Mencken fashion, by treating people as "national" or "local" types rather than ordinary figures, and then casting the roles with actors who love to over-act uncharming traits. Carrie's first amour is played by Eddie Albert, whose portrayal of an American "go-getter" consists of flashing a big, lop-sided grin, twirling a heavy gold watch and using his voice like a loud musical instrument. Somehow the heroine, whose strong point is her essential gentleness, puts up with this caricature who opens every conversation with either a belch or a couplet: "Charley's the name, charm's the game!" When Carrie and her second lover, the sleek restaurant owner Hurstwood, skip to New York with his partner's money, they are tracked down by a detective from the Western Bonding Company. The acting of this leering, gum-chewing slob is rendered by Ray Teal, who has a penchant for using one eye as though it belonged to a cruel pig and working a rich, sneering sound into his voice. Hurstwood's decline takes him into a Third Avenue hash house run by the sort of confident, ruthless Irishman Barry Kelley has been enacting since he entered films. The cameraman helps Kelley to look repugnant and slovenly with floor-shots that exaggerate his huge belly and the lazy, tyrannical way in which he lolls in a chair. And finally, Hurstwood's wife, rich shrew that she is, turns up near the end to trade him a divorce for the rights to their Chicago home. Miriam Hopkins plays the scene by holding her mouth in a single grim line and keeping a rigid, buzzard-like look in her eyes.

One of the cardinal elements of the Times Square technique introduced in the era of "McGinty," "Citizen Kane," "A Man to Remember," and "The Maltese Falcon" was the use of very close, snarling presentation which put the actors practically in a nose-to-nose relationship with the movie spectator. The entire production of "Carrie" is thrown at you in shallow scenes, the actors arranged parallel-fashion and statically on the front plane of the scene so that their physical presence is overpowering. The film was fortunate in having Laurence Olivier as the high-powered Hurstwood, all delicacy, intelligence, and high style up to his last weakened whispers on the Bowery. But after an hour of close views Olivier becomes less a figure than a formidable mustache, a mouth that has a tendency to flap, and poignant hands that sometimes mimic the gestures of madonnas in medieval painting. In one of the last views of the pitiable Hurstwood his ravaged face is exposed to Carrie as she turns a lamp on it. The fact that Hurstwood is ashamed to show himself seems next to ludicrous after an hour spent watching his face disintegrate over most of the screen.

"Carrie" is also fortunate in having

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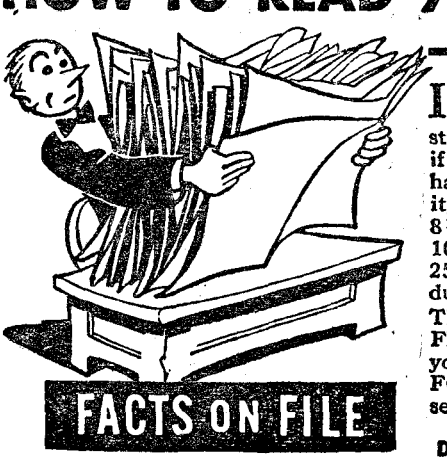

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a handsome production all around, but in the deliberate and magnified style to which Hollywood has turned, lightness of touch is impossible. When the camera dollies slowly over the cubicles of a flop-house (the big "art" scene) one has the feeling that the director is working with material that is as heavy and dignified as a Steinway grand inlaid with precious stones.

"Outcast of the Islands." A lesser Conrad story, showing the evil consequences of a tropical environment on a chivalrous, well-meaning leech. Starring Trevor Howard, who is surprisingly credible as a feverishly bored ne'er-do-well getting hot over a native girl who confines all her acting to moving her eyes. Despite some bad casting (Robert Morley and his daughter), Director Carol Reed has created an exceptional film that entangles the spectator in tropical textures and worries him with the shame and guilt of a hero who betrays only his friends. Alongside Reed's film, "African Queen" looks as if it had been shot in Palm Beach.

Drama Note

OF THEE I SING" (Ziegfeld Theater) is worth going to, of course, just for the music. Aside from that, it is still funny and gay and in this long-faced period the spirit of the piece, the humor and confidence with which it sets Supreme Court Justices dancing and cuts a wide farcical swath through Presidential politics, is somehow reassuring as well as refreshing.

The book has been revised to make it topical for 1952 and though some of the changes don't come off, many of them do—the sequence of election-night bulletins, for instance, is hilarious.

Jack Carson didn't seem to me a good choice for John P. Wintergreen. On the other hand, I was determined in advance not to accept Paul Hartman as a replacement for Victor Moore and then was quite won over by Mr. Hartman's own very different and distinctive quality. Betty Oakes is appropriately cast as Wintergreen's partner on his platform of Love and as the traditional nice girl of musical comedy. Lenore Lonergan is right too as the siren with a Southern drawl whose amateur standing is never quite dispelled. The rest of the company has the necessary competence and gusto. M. M.

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Records

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SOME time ago Allegro issued a recording of part of Bach's Clavierübung Part 3: the opening Prelude and closing Fugue in E flat, and in between the longer and more elaborate Chorale Preludes. Now Decca gives us Part 3 complete—with, in addition, the shorter and simpler Chorale Preludes, and the Four Duets. For me the great music in the work is the magnificent Prelude and several of the longer Chorale Preludes—*Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit; Kyrie, Gott, heiliger Geist; Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot'; Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, Schöpfer*—with the Fugue impressive as a piece of fugal construction rather than moving as a piece of music. The shorter Chorale Preludes I find less interesting; the Duets very dull. Except for the Duets, which are played on the harpsichord, the pieces are played by Helmut Walcha on the St. Jakobi organ in Lübeck and the Schnitger organ in Cappel. The sound is bright and, for the most part, clear (I have given up hope of ever hearing a clear reproduction of the opening of the Prelude), but occasionally not clean. I like the slower tempos and the continuity of Noehren's performances on the Allegro records; but the sound is less bright and the surfaces are noisy.

From Columbia comes the third record in the series Bach's Royal Instrument, with the great Passacaglia in C minor and Toccata and Fugue in D minor, the fine Concerto in D minor after Vivaldi, the little G minor Fugue, and the uninteresting Fugue in C ("Fanfare"), played by E. Power Biggs on the organ in Symphony Hall, Boston. The performances of the Passacaglia and the Concerto are good; the one of the Toccata and Fugue is the less effective for its long pauses. This record is free of the shattering and the noisy confusion from reverberation that afflicted the first two of the series; but in loud passages the thick sounds of the Symphony Hall organ coalesce into a mass in which the strands of the contrapuntal texture can't be distinguished; and one wonders again why Biggs uses this organ instead of the one in Harvard's Germanic Museum.

Another Columbia recording has given me a second hearing of Mahler's Symphony No. 8, the so-called "Symphony of a Thousand" for orchestra, three choruses, and soloists. When Stokowski performed the work with the New York Philharmonic two years ago the first part, the "Veni, Creator Spiritus," impressed me as "twenty-five minutes of frenetically apocalyptic ranting"; this time I subtract the few minutes of a quiet and lovely interlude in the ranting. As for the second part, the final scene of Goethe's "Faust," which two years ago I found to be "more agreeable, but . . . much the same thing over and over again for almost an hour," I am struck this time by the fact that it is, even at the start, what one has heard over and over again in previous works. The records offer a performance in which Scherchen conducts the Vienna Symphony, the Vienna Kammerchor, Singakademie, and Sängerknaben, Elsa Maria Matheis and Daniza Ilitsch, sopranos (both excellent), Rosette Anday and Georgine Milinkovic, contraltos (both with formidable tremolo), and Erich Majkut, tenor, Georg Oeggl, baritone, and Hugo Weiner, bass (all good). Though the recording was made

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at a concert the sound of the second part is good in every respect including balance of orchestra, choruses, and soloists, whereas in the first part the soloists are close, the orchestra distant, and the sound strident and not clean—some of the high notes of the solo soprano coming through as unpleasant screams.

Completing my report on the Columbia LP dubbings of Weingartner recordings of Beethoven symphonies, I find the performance of No. 1 the most satisfying of the series—the work being one that suffers least from the characteristic lack of energy and cohesive tension; and the recorded sound is good with bass reduced and treble stepped up. The first three movements of No. 4 also are satisfactorily played, but the slow tempo lessens the effect of the finale; the recorded sound needs stepping up of treble, which makes it coarse, and there are the noise of shellac surfaces in the first two movements and some high-frequency hash in the finale. I think it is the lack of energy and cohesive tension, not just the slow tempos, that makes the performance of No. 5 seem sluggish; the sound of the first movement requires treble to be stepped up a lot, which makes the brighter sound unclean; and there are noisy crackling in the second movement, high-frequency hash near the end. The first movement of No. 6 is graceless, the rest satisfactory; the sound of the first, second, and last movements lacks brightness even with treble stepped up, and the first two have the noise of shellac surfaces. The first movement of No. 7 is sluggish, but the tempos of the later movements are good; bass needs stepping up and treble needs stepping up a lot, which makes the brighter sound unclean; and the finale gets dim and acquires some high-frequency hash. No. 2 I didn't receive.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN K. FAIRBANK, author of "The United States and China," is an associate chairman of the China Program of the Committee on International and Regional Studies at Harvard University.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Sex Guideposts: Confusing the Is with the Ought

Dear Sirs: A word on In Defense of Current Sex Studies, which appeared in your March 15 issue. This article proposes that "the best and quickest way to establish . . . sexual guideposts would be to have many research projects." This naive assumption is totally without foundation in fact. When in human history have ideals of any type been established by means of statistics?

Ideals—which, for some reason, sexologists call "guideposts"—by definition are distinct from reality. The majority of people are not particularly brave; nor do they love their neighbor. This fact does not affect one whit the validity of heroism and brotherly love as *ideals*. Whence this peculiar idea that we must model the "ought" on the "is"? The day when ideals are patterned after the real—or what is alleged to be real—will mark the end of any ethical tradition that is noble or profound.

LAURA COMMON

New York

Voters for Douglas

Dear Sirs: Recent political statements have revealed that there is but one man among the many mentioned for the nomination for the presidency who possesses the wisdom and courage required to grapple with the complex international and political problems which beset us. That man is Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court.

Justice Douglas's views, stated on the bench and off, have consistently evoked a tremendous amount of favorable comment throughout the nation. In spite of this, there has been little inclination by political leaders seriously to consider him for the nomination. Although many newspapers and magazines have editorially favored and have indicated the existence of strong popular sentiment for his candidacy, this sentiment has not yet been expressed in a movement designed to secure the nomination for Douglas.

Independent Voters for Douglas has been organized as a rallying point for Americans of all political faiths who feel it is time that our nation dispense with mediocre political leadership and once more elect men of stature and maturity to our highest office.

Those who are interested in supporting the committee should address their inquiries to Independent Voters for Douglas, Box 1572, Grand Central Station, New York 17, New York.

BERNARD R. SORKIN
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New York for the Committee

Government: Royalist Tool?

Dear Sirs: I have read so much about my book, "How to Get Rich in Washington," in the letters and literary col-

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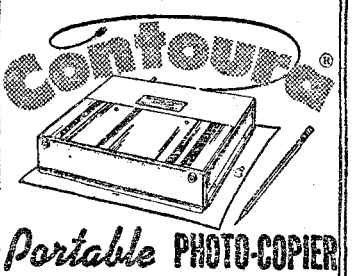

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umns of *The Nation* that now I would like to say a word about it myself.

Mr. Shelton, the reviewer, misses the point of my book if he really thinks what he says in his letter [*The Nation*, May 3], that the subtitle, "Rich Man's Division of the Welfare State," is a wisecrack.

The book shows that the economic royalists whom the New Deal held at bay have now captured control of the strong central government which was created to defend the traditional victims of the royalists from continued victimization. The book assigns the blame for this to both President Truman and Congress.

Furthermore, the book gives repeated instances of industrialists' and business men's reliance on the strong government for favors, competitive advantage, and financing, even as they pretend to belabor the strong government. In other words, the kind of government that Franklin D. Roosevelt gave us has been thoroughly perverted. The narrative of the book serves to illustrate the above points.

Washington BLAIR BOLLES

Course Offered on Problems of Race Violence

Dear Sirs: I think some of your readers would be interested to know of a seminar to be held by the University of Chicago Law School during its summer session (July 14 to 28). Because racial violence has been increasing recently and because the handling of such incidents is an important test of democratic practices, the Law School is sponsoring a special seminar, headed by Joseph D. Lohmon, on Police and Racial Tensions. The seminar, primarily designed for law-enforcement officers, will cover specific incidents of race violence, police practices in treating violence, the law on segregation and discrimination, techniques which will increase the capacity of the police to deal effectively with racial tensions, etc. The participants include well-known sociologists, lawyers, psychoanalysts, and social scientists as well as police officials who have had long experience with race violence. The National Conference of Christians and Jews has expressed a willingness to offer scholarships to representatives of those police departments whose budgets do not include funds which could be used to cover the cost of tuition.

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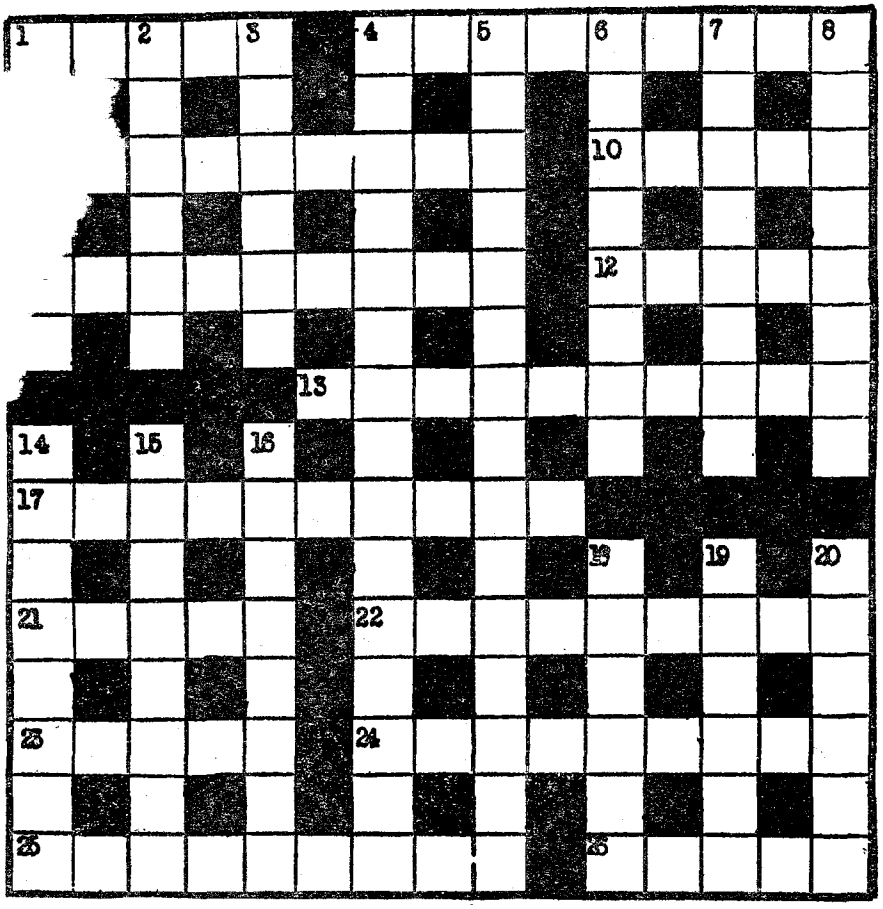
Crossword Puzzle No. 465

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 It's nothing to a would-be fireman —that's the funny part of it! (5)
4 Hubble-bubbles. (9)
9 Fine, under which we get rough. (9)
10 Should be something like the Isle of Man! (5)
11 China could lose a certain amount of soil in inundation if this is applied. (9)
12 This name leads by association to a parting song, or to its composer. (5)
13 Perhaps indulge in "Sweet Adeline" about the club, but you'd be incoherent if you were. (10)
17 Extremely brave, with the nose broken in the middle. (10)
21 The way your house is finished should be certainly more than an idle thought! (2, 3)
22 One cinder is needed on the inside. (9)
23 and 24. Occupied with a familiar line of chatter. (2, 3, 9)
25 The anticipation of getting an estate for small change. (9)
26 and 1 down. Off base like an old rabbit? (3, 2, 6)

DOWN

1 See 26 across.
2 25 doesn't take tea here with Sherwood for example. (6)
3 Even other than cheap skates wouldn't cut much of a figure here! (6)
4 Mine stops, but not exactly after the sergeant goes crazy. (3, 6, 6)
5 Communist, pallid and discouraged, doesn't show his true colors. (3, 5, 3, 4)
6 It should find its mark, with zero if it's bad. (8)
7 The reasoning about its getting up pertains to supply. (8)
8 Would you stand for them if they painted you on your feet? (8)
14 Get along (but not if you have a chip on your shoulder and someone else does). (3, 2, 3)
15 Does one hold a fitting position (or is he involved in a "fix")? (7)
16 If you take the advice of Polonius, you'll not give it or get it! (8)
18 The destroyer of Carthage was a Minor. (6)
19 Fade away. (Like the color, if it sounds like this?) (3, 3)
20 Concerning this, the enemy comes up to her. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 464

ACROSS:—1 STAFF SERGEANTS; 9 COROLLA; 10 NARRATE; 11 NECROLOGY; 12 OILED; 13 SENECAS; 15 ANDIRON; 16 ONAGERS; 17 KATYDID; 20 YEAST; 21 EVAPORATED; 23 ATTIRED; 24 ANIMALS; 25 DRESS DESIGNERS.

DOWN:—1 SECOND STORY MAN; 2 AFRICAN; 3 FELLOW CREATURES; 4 ERATO; 5 GUNNY SACK; 6 AIR CONDITIONING; 7 TRAILER; 8 WEDDING DRESSES; 14 SUSPENDED; 17 ADAPTER; 19 DIABASE; 22 AMASS.

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H. E. Ambassador L. N. Palar, permanent representative of Indonesia to the United Nations

Discussion

Afternoon Session—2 P.M.

Presiding: Dr. Dewey Anderson, Executive Director, Public Affairs Institute

1. MILITARY BASES AND THE LOYALTY OF PEOPLES

Kingsley Martin, Editor, The New Statesman and Nation of London

Dr. Benjamin Rivlin, Professor of Political Science, Brooklyn College

Discussion

2. OIL, LAND REFORM, DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES • Pathways to Peace and Democracy

Dr. H. J. van Mook, Director, Public Administration Division of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration

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Discussion

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